GOVAPURI

BULLETIN OF INSTITUTE MENEZES BRAGANZA

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Foreword

The historical wealth of Goa remains only partly explore
The culture of the contemporary Goan community, regardless
religious identities, draws much of its richness from the tradition
of the past.

What happened during the period Goa was under th
Portuguese added a new facet to the rich culture. Although i
might seem to some that the objective of the colonial rulers wa
to wipe out the native culture entirely with a combination o
ruthless force and subtle manipulations of law, the same wa
never fully realised, the horrors of Inquisition notwithstanding
This showed the robustness of the local culture, which was draw
from the collective knowledge and experimentation of th
generations of Goans.

This issue focuses substantially on the analysis of th
happenings during this encounter. The truth is a good objectiv
study of the encounter has been missing for a long time, becaus
the discourse on the subject has been coloured by prejudicial view
and ill-informed tirades. A few articles in this issue try to fill the
gap.

Women through history of Goa have begun to receive
attention in academic studies in the past few years. A few studies
have been published specifically on the subject, while some others,
like Mitragotri's, take it up with interest. The general conditions
in which people, and particularly women, used to live in the past
centuries in Goa have been dealt with in Mitragotri's and a couple
of other incisive articles.

Nandkumar Kamat has presented a comprehensive picture
of the cultural dimensions of termite hills, throwing light upon
an area people generally don't turn their attention to when they
talk of ecology and beliefs.

ARUN SINHA

Life and Women in the Pre-Portuguese Period

V. R. MITRAGOTRI

MAN was engaged from the beginning of the civilisation in procuring food and shelter for his family. Women had to shoulder the responsibility of rearing children and maintenance of the household. In Sanskrit a housewife is called *grahini*. It is said that the prosperity and reputation of the family depended entirely upon the *grahini*. The position that the women enjoyed in any society, is the index of the civilisation and culture of that society. If women enjoyed a good position and had a respectable status in the society, it ushered in the development of the family at the initial level, and ultimately the development of the society and the civilisation itself.

From the *Vedic* period onwards, the birth of a female child was not an occasion for rejoicing. But girls were taught about *Vedas* during the *Vedic* period. The thread ceremony was also performed on female children. There were women scholars like Gargi, Lopamudra, Visvara, Sikata Nivari and Ghosha. On the auspicious occasions both the husband and the wife had to perform certain rites (*Punya-Vachan*) and even now this tradition is prevalent. However, by the early centuries of the Christian era, a general decline of the women had set it.

Position of Royal Women

THE earliest reference to women from royal families is from Prithvimallavarman's copper plate which mentions that Chetasadevi, the daughter of Nellika, on *Triyodasi* (13th day) of *Shukla paksha* of *Jyestha* donated a field. From this it is evident

that the queen could exercise influence over the king in maki grants to Brahmins. The mention to the women of early Chaluk ruler Vijayabhattarika who ruled in Iridige Vishaya is found the copper plate. These copper plates also bear testimony to t status and position enjoyed by women from the royal familie For exercising influence over the king in issuing grants shouldering responsibility some training and education we essential. The women from the royal families and the elite we taught reading and writing. The women from ruling dynasties the region took keen interest in patronising learning and ar The chief queen Kamaladevi of Peramadi, Kadamba ruler of Go was a great patron of learning. Kamaladevi, with the assistan of Peramadi, founded a number of *agraharas*. In these *agrahara* *Veda*, *Vedanga*, *Nyaya*, *Mimansa*, *Sankhya*, *Yoga*, *Vedant* *Smriti*, *Itihas* and *Puranas* were taught. She is also credited wit having the Narayan temple and Mahalaxmi temple.

As regards matrimony among the royal families as well a other sections of the Hindu society, it was considered as one the important sacraments (*samskara*). The objectives of Hind marriage were duty (*dharma*), progeny (*praja*), pleasure (*kama* There were no pre-puberty marriages in *Vedic* period. Howeve by c.200 A.D. the *smriti* writers started advocating pre-pubert marraiges and these became popular only among Brahmins Among *Kshatriyas* there were no child marriages even upto th Vijayanagara period. The *Kshatriya* women, particularly fron the royal families, had considerable freedom in choosing thei life partners. The reference to such *svyamvaras* are available.

The matrimonial alliances among the royal families of th Deccan were common. There were matrimonial alliances betweer *Ishvakus* and the *Kaikeyas*, the Kadambas of Banavasi and th Vakatakas and the Kadambas and the Guptas. The Narendr inscription records that when the Kadamba King Chattayya wen towards the country of Mammuni of Thane, the latter welcome him and gave his daughter in marriage to him. He presented five lakh gold coins to his son-in-law. Similarly Jayakeshi I, the son of Sastadeva, gave his daughter to the Chalukya emperor Vikramaditya. Hemachandra refers to the royal marriage of the Kadambas of Goa and the Chalukyas of Gujarat in *Devashraya*. Mayanalladevi, the daughter of Jayakeshi I fell in love with the

king Karna of Gujarat and subsequently they were married.

The king married many wives and the favourite among them generally became the chief queen. Due to the polygamy practised by many rulers, their harems were full of rivalry and jealousy. A queen had the title "Whip to the back of rival wives of high repute".

The queen was supposed to treat her subjects both rich and poor, without discrimination and used to participate in public functions.[12]

Purda System

IT seems that by 300 A.D. some of the royal families thought that the women from their families should be seen by the selected few while moving in public. However, from the evidences, it is clear that *purda* system was confined to Northern India. The paintings of Ajanta and the data from *Dharmashastras* and classical literatures clearly reveals that there was no *purda* system in South India, particularly in Goa.[13]

Marriage and Dowry System among the Masses

It has been mentioned earlier that by c. 200 A.D., child marriage became common among Brahmins and the masses. The intercaste marriages became rare after c.800 A.D.[14] As in other regions of the country, in Goa, a social function was held when married girl attained puberty and commenced her first menstrual period. From this it is evident that there wer pre-puberty marriages in Goa also.[15] Due to the rigidity of caste rules, finding a suitable match for the girls seems to have become a problem for the parents.[16]

Dowry system is associated with the consummation of marriage on *Dakshina*. Hence this is called *Varadakshina* (the gift offered to the bridegroom). The gift consisted of cash or gold[17]. Among the masses the amount of the dowry was not sizeable. The father of the bride offered dowry according to his capacity. A Konkani proverb cautions the bridegroom not to be fascinated by the amount of dowry offered by the father-in-law. If the bridegroom accepts a huge amount of dowry, he would be the slave of his wife (at least a hen-pecked husband)[18]. Another Konkani proverb says that the culture which the mother of the bride has transmitted to the daughter remains, but not the dowry

given by the father. Dowry is not a permanent asset and th might vanish if it is not in the safe custody of the newly marrie boy. It thus appears that the society which coined these proverb was against the dowry system and attached considerabl importance to the cultural background of the bride. Yet anothe proverb of Konkani adumbrates similar sentiments. Observe th mother and then marry the girl, so you taste the quality of th milk while purchasing a buffalo. From the above proverbs it i evident that the mother had an important role to play in educatin the girl in shouldering the responsibility of the joint family. A girl who had not reached teen-age had to go to the house of he in-laws and the husband of the girl was one member of the join family. The family consisted of a father-in-law, his brothers and their wives, the brothers and sisters of the husband etc. Therefore the mother had to train the daughter to serve the husband as well as elders in the family such as the father and the mother-in-law etc.

The parents of girls always considered female children as assets of other families. Immediately after marriage, the girl lost all her rights in the family of her birth. The house of her husband was her home. This is evident in the Konkani proverb which says that the married woman has right to grind pepper on the bald head of her husband, but she has no right to grind the pepper on the stone of her brother. The status which a housewife enjoyed was entirely dependent upon the status which her husband had in his family. If the husband was enterprising, resourceful and hard working, he was in a commanding position. The position of the wife of such a husband was equally high. A Konkani proverb expresses the same thought according to which the hen rises through the might of the cock and the woman through the might of her husband.

The married daughters would come to visit their parents occasionally during the festivals or for delivery. Such visits were for a short period. If the daughter had lost her mother and if only the father was alive, the house of the parents would no more be a heaven and its supportive warmth had already vanished. So she could hardly lead a life of dignity and comfort there.

A married woman who died before the death of her husband was considered as the most fortunate. *Markandeya Purana*

mentions the anniversary celebrated in honour of the married woman who predeceased her husband. There was a special death anniversary (*shraddha*) performed during *Bhadrapad* (August-Sept.) on the 9th day of the dark half. This was called *avidhava navami* (9th day of unwidowed lady). On this day a priest was invited for partaking of food as well as for performing rituals. Besides him a married woman who had her husband alive (*sumangali*) was also invited for the honour of being offered food. She was offered besides food dakshina, a blouse piece, bangles, a garland and a girdle. From this it is evident that a sumangali was considered to be auspicious. A married woman whose husband was alive was supposed to wear five auspicious ornaments namely a nose-stud, toe-rings, a necklace of blackbeads (*mangalsutra*), glass bangles and a red mark on the forehead. In Konkani such a woman was called *savashin* (*sumangali*). A woman who lost her husband was considered inauspicious as she had lost the privilege of using the above five auspicious ornaments.

Position of Widows

FROM the vedic period to about 500 A.D. there used to be widow remarriages. The Vedic society accepted *Niyoga* or levirate by which the childless widow could have an issue. But the sword of widowhood hung over the head of the married women. Widowhood was considered as a great calamity. The Konkani proverb says that today's married woman is the widow of tomorrow. Therefore, the parents were always worried about the daughter as she would either jump into the funeral pyre of her dead husband, or she would tonsure her hair and continue to live the hard life ahead.

The *smritis* prescribe austere life for the widow. She was to sleep on a bare ground and not comfortably on a cot. She was not to wear a blouse but cover her upper part by means of the pallu of her sari. She could not wear coloured saris and the only permitted colour was white. She was prohibited from using any cosmetics or turmeric powder for her face. She could not use any perfumes. She could take only one meal a day. She made ablutions every day in memory of her husband. She listened to recitation of the Puranas. Brahmin widows would normally follow the above restrictions and lead an austere life.

Sati

THERE are evidences to *Sati* from 316 B.C. onwards. But it w not widespread througout India. Only after the 10th century A. did it spread to several regions[29] of the country. During th Shilahara Kadamba period, *Sati* system might have spread Goa. Between 1000-1400 A.D. epitaphs record only 11 *Sati* However, from 1400-1600 the number of *Satis* rose to 41. Ther were two Jain widows who became *Satis* and the remaining wer *Gaudas* and *Nayakas*. The latter two communities predominantl constituted the army[30]. The above data clearly shows that durin the Vijayanagara period *Sati* system became commonly prevalen It continued even after the downfall of the Vijayanagara kingdon The regions of Goa, Bijapur and Vijayanagara were engaged i fighting against one another. The widows of the soldiers who die in the combat as also the widows of the Generals jumped into th funeral pyres. The number of *Sati* stones scattered all over Go clearly indicates that many women who lost their husband performed *Sati*. *Sati* stones (*Satikal*) were erected in memory o the *Sati* who jumped into the funeral pyre. These were depicte with the hand in the pose (*mudra*) of assurance (*abhaya* Sometimes both the hands are also found on the *Sati* stones. I was believed that the *Sati* who jumped into the funeral pyre woul live in heaven with her husband for three crore years[31]. The righ hand of *Sati* was considered to be auspicious and symbolised he chastity[32]. Sometimes two hands are shown in the above describe position. These hands symbolically represent the two widows (o a departed husband's wives) who both jumped into the pyre. The State Museum of Goa and the Old Goa Museum have *Sati* stones each depicting the funeral pyre and the widow getting ready to jump into the pyre. Some *Sati* shrines were also built in Goa and some of these have the status of affiliating deities (*parivar devta*) There is only one independent shrine of *Sati* in Pedne[33]. The practice of *Sati* continued in Old Conquests (Tiswadi, Bardez and Salcete) until 1560 and the Portuguese were the first to abolish it in India[34].

Tonsure of Widows

IN Goa the practice of tonsuring hair among the widows of Saraswats, Karhades, Padhyes and Kramavant Joshis was prevalent. Even among the Panchala Brahmin widows the tonsuring of hair was current. The tonsuring of widows was abolished in Goa by the Portuguese along with the Sati system.

Devdasi System

SOME scholars have also dealt with the *Devadasi* system in the chapter of their work on Society. *Devadasi* literally means servant of God or slave of God. The word *Devadasi* became current only after late 1930s of this century. In Goa, the *Devdasis* were called *Kalavants* and some used to call them *Naikins*. The earlier word has originated from Sanskrit *kala* which means art. They claimed their origin from celestial nymphs (*apsaras* and *gandharvas*). In addition to the *Kalavants* there were temple servants called *Bhavins*. The earliest epigraphic reference to this word occurs in Marathi inscription of 1402 A.D. from Velus village in Sattari taluka. This inscription records the grant of three and half tanks per annum to a *Bhavin*.

The Hindu devotees considered God as a living entity and offered him all the comforts which rich men enjoyed. Inscriptions from Karnataka refer to *angabhoga* and *rangabhoga*. Giving bath to the deity (offering *abhisheka*), applying sandalwood paste (*gandha*), offering flowers, essence, scent etc. is *angabhoga*. These were supposed to be applied to the body (*anga*) of the God and hence they formed a part of *angabhoga*. Dance and music concerts held in the temple were the *rangabhoga*.

There are evidences to indicate that by the Gupta period *Devadasi* system was taking roots in India. There are references to *Devadasis* in *Puranas* as well as in *agamas*. The antiquity of *Devadasi* system in Karnataka, the neighbouring region of Goa, goes back to the 8th century A.D. An inscription from Virupaksha temple of Pattadakal refers to the donation made by a *Devadasi* In an inscription of Rattaraja, the Southern Silahara king who was closely associated with Goa, the *Devadasis* are called *darikas*. Indirect reference to *Devadasis* is found in the Jogeshwari

inscription near Bombay. There are references to the couretsa in the inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas. Tambur inscripti records that there were streets meant for courtesans and the have been called *suligere* (*sule* means a prostitute in Kannad The Yavani epigraph furnishes the description of the eyebro of prostitutes. In Dharwad inscriptions the prostitutes are call *ganikas*. No stigma was attached to the prostitutes. T courtesans were not treated as a degraded section of the socie but they were treated with respect. The kings and the nobl took pride in associating themselves with the courtesans[46].

The above epigraphs of the Kadambas of Goa and the solita inscription of the South Silaharas indicate that the *Devadas* were not treated as menial servants but they were treated wit respect as talented artists with freedom of sex. The society of th day apparently had a broad outlook towards *Devadasis* o *courtesans*.

It is mentioned that the Silahara king Arikesari and the Go Kadamba king Sasta II visited Somnath and there they saw th *Devadasis* in the temple of Somanath. Hence, it may be argue that these rulers might have been responsible for introducin this sytem in their regions. However, the inscriptions from th temple of Virupaksha and other inscriptions from Karnatak clearly indicate that the *Devadasi* system was already in existenc in the Deccan before the visit of the kings referred to above Therefore, this theory is not convincing. These inscriptions ar all from outside Goa and no descriptions from Goa refer to the *Devadasis*. There are no inscriptions referring to either grants given by the kings to the *Devadasis* of a particular temple o donations made by the *Devadasis* to any temple. However, in the absence of any inscriptions to this effect does not necessarily imply that there were no *Devadasis* in the temples of Goa until 140 A.D. Moreover, as the inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas from Dharwad district refer to *Devadasis*, it is likely that *Devadasis* were in existence in the temples of Goa during the Silahara- Kadamba period.

There were *Kalavants* in the well known temples of Goa like Saptakoteshwar, Mahalsa, Mangesh and Shantadurga. The village organisation which was established by the *Gavdas* called *Communidade* looked after the maintenance of the temples as

well as the *Devadasis*.

There were two types of dancing girls associated with the temples. The first type were called *Kalavants* and they used to be well versed in vocal music and the second type of temple servants were called *Bhavins*. They were expected to sweep the premises of the temple and also perform such duties as carrying the essence burner and putting essences in the burner whenever required.

In the Shantadurga temple when the *utsavamurti* was taken out in a palanquin for procession, the *Bhavin* was to hold the mirror in order to reflect sunrays over the image of the deity.

The initiation ceremony called *shens* was held for the teenaged girls of *Kalavants* who were trained in vocal music. In this initiation ceremony, marriage of the homogenous sex was held and it was appropriately known as a mock marriage. In a mock marriage the girl was married to another girl who was dressed like a groom, with coconut and arecanut in herhands. The girls then garlanded the coconut. This ceremony was popular among the *Bhavins*. After the *shens* ceremony, the girl was permitted to be the mistress of only one man and generally she was attached to the rich landlord or the temple priest. A girl whose *shens* ceremony was performed was not supposed to marry throught her life. *Devadasis* were not allowed to marry in order to remain the devoted servants of God. It was customary that since the *Devadasis* had no family as such their maintenance be looked after by the village. This facilitated them to concentrate fully on music.

In addition to singing in the palanquin procession, the *Kalavants* were required to sing when *arati* was performed, prior to the distribution of *prasad*, at chowk (temple square hall). She was also expected to sing during the month *harijagar* (when the devotees kept a night vigil an conducted musical concerts in the honour of the deity) for one month.

Kalavants made gestures while singing. Even to date they continue to make these gestures while singing. However, earlier writers have misinterpreted the gestures made by the *Kalavants* as dancing.There was no tradition of classical dance in Goa. The *Kalavants* of Goa came under the influence of Hindustani music during the period of Adilshahis of Bijapur.

The *Devadasis* who were supposed to be the servants of Go generally became the servants of the priests and the *Mahajan* The priests of the temples were the agents of God and hence the have received the offering made to God. Therefore a *Devada* offering her body to the priest ultimately was considered to hav been received by God.

During the Silahara-Kadamba period Kalavants might hav enjoyed a high status in the society. However, after the downfa of the Kadambas and subsequently during the rule of th Vijayanagara, it seems that the Saraswats became the Mahajan of the important temples of Goa. From then onwards, the perio of degradation of Kalavants and exploitation began and thi continued till the establishment of the Portuguese rule in Goa.

The well known musicians like Baba Salgaonkar Saraswatibai Jambawalikar, Mogubai Kurdikar, Anjaniba Malpekar, Hirabai Badodekar and Jyotsna Bhole were from Kalavant community.

It is evident that the position of women in Goa was no different from that in the rest of India. Due to the lack o educational facilities, women were ignorant and they were als not in a position to be economically independent. As such, the were subservient in a male dominated society.

DRESS, ORNAMENTS, FOOD, DRINKS AND AMUSEMENTS

DRESS and ornaments worn by the (Goan) people indicates thei aesthetic sense. However, the geographical factors also play a important role in shaping the human civilization and so in respect of dress too, the geographical factors cannot be ignored. Goa being a coastal area, has a humid climate. Therefore, cotton clothes were the natural attire to be used here.

Dress of Royalty

KINGS and the noblemen wore dhoti to cover the lower part of the body. The word *dhoti* or *dhotar* has its origin in Sanskrit. The word *dhaute* means washed and the noun component *vastra*

meaning clothes. Thus the word *dhotra* or *dhotar* has origin in *dhauta1*. The *dhoti* used to be of either silk or cotton. But soldiers from Goa and Karnataka had their thick loin cloth upto the kneejoints to serve like shorts. The soldiers depicted on hero-stone tally with the above description of the soldiers furnished in Yasatilaka. The kings of the dynasties which ruled Goa were generally fond of hunting. Particularly the references to the Kadamba King killing a tiger are available. Marcela copper plate as well as Degave inscription mention a king killing a tiger. During the hunting expedition, the kings wore jackets, or some sort of a longcoat which fitted the chest closely but which hung rather loosely over the lower part of the body. A black wrapper (*upadhara*) and a green trouser (*dvipadi*) formed the hunter's dress which acted as a camouflage in the forest. During the summer soft, attractive and light clothes were used.

Dress of the Royal Woman

THE Narendra inscription belonging to the reign of Jayakeshi mentions the provision for the Governor of the women's quarters, Master of the robes, High Chamberlain of Mailal Mahadevi. It is evident from the above inscriptions that the ladies of the royalty gave considerable importance to their dress and ornaments.

The women from the royal families wore *saries* and this word has its origin in the Tamil word *Siri*, *Silai* and *Silai* which means woven stuff. The *Sari* worn by the women of the Deccan from about c.1000 A.D. is generally nine yards in length and about fifty two inches in width. In Marathi such a *Sari* is also called *lugade* and this word occurs in the copper plate of Khandepar. This clearly indicates that the word *lugade* was also current in Goa.

There were regional varieties in sporting *Sari* in ancient medieval India. Till about five decades earlier, the *Sakachcha* style of *Sari* was common among the women of the higher classes. The hind pleats of *dhoti* as well as *sari* are called *kach* (*nire*). This word is derived from Sanskrit *nirige*. The *Sakachchha sari* is so draped that it is caught between the legs in a broad hanging fold tucked in closely at the back. This was the style of *sari* known as the *Sakachchha* style. However, *Sakachchha sari* is depicted

on the female sculptures belonging to the post 10th century A.
The Deccan seems to have borrowed this fashion from Centr
India.

Besides the two types of saris described above, the women post Muslim period wore the garment called *Langha*. In Goa an Maharashtra it is also called *Parkar*. *Langha* is a waist clot joined at both ends with a band sewn at the top through which cord joined at both ends with a band sewn at the top throug which a cord passes for fastening *langha*. The *langha* and *parka* belong to the same type of lower garment of the women. Th ghagra having multiple vertical pleats is depicted on the her stones and an unidentified stone sculpture from Margao displaye in the State Museum of Goa. For covering the upper part of th body, women used Kanchuki or *Kurpasaka*. This had no butto or hook but it was knotted below the breasts.

Dress of the Brahmins and Other Communities

THE Brahmin women in Goa used *Vikachcha* type of *sari* an perhaps *Kanchuki*. Men wore *dhoti*. After c.1000 A.D. *Sakachchh* *saris* were worn by Saraswat women. *Kanchukis* were used fo covering the upper part of the body. Different types of textile were imported from different places to Goa. Goa had maritim contacts from the period of the Bhojas with the well known textil manufacturing centres of South India such as Poddalapur Chitrapalli, Nagapattana, Chola country, Tondaimandala, Sr Lanka, Analiwana in Gujarat, Kalinga and Vanga from the perio of the Bhojas. However, the inscriptions of the Goa Kadamba bear testimony to the commercial contact with the above places Fine textiles might have constituted a part of the import.

During the Southern Silahara and the Kadamba period the Saraswat Brahmins were well established. However, it seems that they were not spending a sizeable amount on their dress. A Konkani saying mentions that "Brahmin cap does not fit you Konkani woman, you do not know how to dress. You can hide your thigh with a small robe and you have your limbs bare even when your robe is full sized." It seems that the non-Saraswats had coined the aforesaid Konkani saying about the dress of the Saraswats.

For covering the upper part of the body, men wore *barabandi* or *barakasi*. This was provided with six pairs of strings or tapes to fasten it in place. The description by a Jesuit who was in Goa furnishes the picture of moneylenders with *barabandi*, squatting on the roads of Goa.

Dress of the Common Man

THE dress of the *Gavdas*, the *Velips* and the *Kunbis* was quite simple. The women of the above communities wore *sari* which reached upto the knees. It was a *sakachcha* mini-*sari*. This mini-sari was quite different from the *sari* which was worn by *Koli* women (fisherwomen). The *pallu* of the *sari* worn by the Gavada women used to cover only the breasts. This type of *sari* was called *denthali*. They did not wear a blouse. Both the arms remained uncovered. The women from the above communities had to work in the field. Hence, this regional type of *sari* might have developed as a professional necessity. Men from these communities cover the lower part of the body with a strip of loin cloth called *langoti* or *kasti*. This *langoti* was fastened to the waist cord. They did not wear any shirt and thus moved barechested. In the rainy season and during winter, men put a rough blanket on the head and this covered the upper part of the body.

The parasols or umbrellas were also used in Goa. On the stone sculpture of Madavamantri, an attendant holding a parasol is depicted. The ordinary umbrellas used by the commoners were usually prepared out of the leaves and were called santali.

Hair Styles and Decorations

THE girls wore pigtails. On festive occasions, these pigtails were interwoven with flowers. Various devices were in use for keeping the hair in a particular shape. The plait of the pigtail is depicted on the stone sculpture of the Kadamba period and the stone sculpture or Uma belonging to c.800 A.D. Displayed in the State Museum of Goa, both have a beautiful bun depicting the hairstyles among women of Goa. The stone sculpture of the women depicted at the bottom of the doorjamb of the sanctum of Curdi temple have large buns on their head. Abnormally large buns suggest the use of artificial devices.

Ornaments

ON the basis of the Adipurna and Yasatilaka, it can be said th the practice of applying tilak among married women was comm before the 11th century A.D. The earliest epigraphic reference the *tilak* mark is found in the inscription from Rewa. The referen to *Sindur* also occurs in the Panaji copper plates of Jayakeshi This copper plate mentions that Jayakeshi was the enemy *Sindur* marks of the numerous queens as their husbands we engaged in war with Jayakeshi I. This copper plate belonged 1047 A.D. *Tilak* and *Sindur* on the forehead of married wome whose husbands were living, was considered to be the sign marital bliss or *saubhagya lakshana*.

Women have been fond of gold from times immemorial. Me also wore ornaments of gold. But this was meagre in compariso with that of women but it was not considered as if ornamen were indispensable for them. Men wore ear-rings (*karn kundalas*), bracelets (*kankanas*) and necklace (*hara*). Th goldsmiths of Goa procured gold from the mines of Karnatak They were master craftsmen in preparing gold ornaments. Th gold coins of the Goa Kadambas bear testimony to the skill of th goldsmiths of Goa.

The gold ornaments given to daughters at the time marriage were considered to be her property or *Stridha* Therefore, the tradition of giving gold ornaments at the time marriage became quite common. Gold was given in the form ornaments. These ornaments were mainly earrings, necklace (*haras*) of various types called *sarpali* (*sankhali*), *mohanma* necklace of red coral (*pravala*), *gahumala* (beads of gold in th shape of wheat grains), *bormal* (gold beads having the shape *Zizubi*) and *chinch peti* (having the shape of tamarind seeds).

For the arms *keyuras* or *bhujabhushanas* of intricate carving were prepared. Only the rich could afford these ornaments an these were considered to be a status symbol. The women used t wear bracelets of gold. These were of various types and each typ had a specific name. For eg., *ekeri patali* and *todi patali*. Th Gavda women wore copper bracelets. In addition to gold an copper bracelets, glass bangles were also used by girls as well a by married women. Literary references to glass bangles ar

available by c. 1000 A.D. Glass bangles were considered to be a symbol of marital bliss (*saubhagya lakshana*). Rings of different shapes were worn in the fingers. Silver toe-rings used by married women were also considered to be a symbol of marital bliss.

There are no references to nose ornaments in the early Sanskrit literature. The nose ornaments called *nath* and *chamki* (nose-stud) were introduced due to Islamic influence. These nose ornaments came into use during 1200 to 1300 A.D. The stone sculptures of goddesses belonging to the earlier period are not shown with the nose-stud.

Food

THE geographic factor had a considerable influence on food, dress and shelter of the people. During the ancient and medieval period, human life was much more controlled by ecological factors as men were not powerful enough to control and alter them. Rice was one of the early cereals to be cultivated by Austric tribes. The *Gavdas* might have started paddy cultivation in Goa. In the course of time rice became the staple food of the people as it has in other coastal regions of India. There are two villages bearing the name of two varieties of rice, namely Sal and Kolam. The villages of Saligaon in Bardez, Kolam in Sanguem have been respectively named after the two varieties of rice. These bear testimony to the cultivation of rice from mid-first millennium B.C.

The *Gavdas*, the *Velips*, the *Kunbis* and the artisans ususally used boiled rice and this is called *Ukada tandul* in Konkani. Non-boiled polished rice is called *Suray tandul*. The former variety of rice is hard to digest. Therefore, people who had to do physical labour preferred boiled rice. Breakfast of the above communities consisted of gruel of boiled rice. In order to make the breakfast more palatable, the rice gruel was served alongwith mango pickles or dry fish. On this liquid diet, they could work until afternoon. *Nachni roti* also formed the breakfast menu of the manual labourers. Their lunch mainly consisted boiled rice. While cooking boiled rice, water from the rice was strained out and collected. This gruel is called *nival*, and was drunk during lunch. For making fish curry pungent pepper was used. Rice was eaten by mixing it

with fish curry or coconut curry. Fresh fish roasted or fried an pickles were used to make lunch tasty. The *Gavdas* did not ea chicken or eggs as these were forbidden. Hence they had n poultry in their settlements.

The staple food of the Saraswat Brahmins was also rice. Ther was no tradition of breakfast among the Saraswat Brahmins However, children were given rice gruel and mango pickles. Th rice and fish curry called uman formed the main menu of th lunch. Red leafy vegetables were used. But other leafy vegetable that were not grown locally were not in use. The pulses like *chavl* (*alsane* in Konkani) and *mung* were also used. A kind of curry was prepared by adding coconut on the days when vegetarian diet was prescribed. The Saraswats ate only fish but no chicken eggs or flesh of other animals. Saraswats as well as other non-Brahmin communities like *Gavdas* and *Velips*, *Vanis* and *Panchala Brahmins* etc. did not eat non-vegetarian food on certain days like Monday, Thursday or Saturday. These vegetarian days depended upon the faith to which the families belonged. The vegetarian food was called *shivrak*. This word has originated from Shravak which means Jain monk. Jain monks were strict vegetarians. Hence Konkani speaking people name vegetarian food as *shivrak*. For the fish or vegetable preparations, coconut was invariably used in Goa. Besides, fish eating communities like Saraswats and the aforesaid Brahmin communities, there were other Brahmins like *Karhades*, *Padhyes*, *Bhattaprabhus* and *Kramavant Joshis* who were pure vegetarians. On auspicious days or festivals like Ganesh Chaturthi, Diwali, Ramanavami or Akshayatritiya, all communities abstained from non-vegetarian diet. On festival occasions or on death anniversaries (*shradha*) turdal (Cajuns indieun) curry mixed with coconut was prepared. A similar preparation of turdal is called *toy* and it seems this word has originated from the Kannada word *tovve*. Drum-sticks (Guilin dina moringa) were used to make preparations of *turdal* tastier. Vegetables like radish were added to *turdal*.

The social customs and traditions prevailing in the Hindu society have formulated the order of the dishes prepared on festive occasions. During the *Shravana* month (July-August), the order of the dishes is fixed. On the last Sunday of *Shravana*, at least thick *dosas* called *pole* were prepared out of rice and *udid dal*.

For *Makara-Sankranti* (Jan 14-15) every year the *velape* were prepared. For *Karka-Sankranti* (July-Aug) a sweet called *sadhane* was prepared. For preparation of *velape* oil is used but the latter preparation is cooked on steam. On *Nagapanchami* and *Ganesh Chaturthi* days a sweet preparation out of jaggery and coconut called *patolio* is made. Minced coconut and jaggery is put ina large uncooked rich dough *puri* and is covered by turmeric leaves. This was cooked in steam. There was a tradition current in the society of the Deccan that on *Nagapanchami* and *Ganesh Chaturthi* no food preparations should be fried. Hence, it seems there prevailed a similar social custom in Goa also since ancient period.

Vadas (*Vataka*) were prepared on most of the festivals. The reference to *vadas* is mentioned in the Nageshi inscription of Bandivade belonging to the Vijayanagara period. These *vadas* were to be offered to Nagesh every day as *naivedya*. These *vadas* (*vataka*) were prepared out of rice flour and these were fried in coconut oil. There is a reference to one more delicacy called *gharika* in the above inscription. Wheat flour and jaggery were mixed and fried. Goa being a coastal area, coconut trees were in abundance. Hence coconut oil was commonly used for cooking, and even for lighting the lamps in the temple.

On *Holi Pournima* (full moon day) *Puran poli* (*vestika*) was prepared. This sweet delicacy was prepared out of wheat flour in which gram pulse mixed with gaggery was stuffed inside. *Puran poli* is prepared in Goa, Maharashtra as well as Karnataka on *Holi Pournima*. In addition to the sweets mentioned above, various types of porridges were also prepared. In Sanskrit the word for porridge is *payas*. It was mainly of gram pulse, jaggery and sweet potatoes. In the gram porridge minced coconut was added and it was called *managane*. There was yet another porridge prepared out of vermicelli (*sevaya*), sugar and milk. This was called *kshir* in Sanskrit and *khir* in Konkani. These sevayas were prepared out of refined wheat flour. The most sweet delicacy was sweet-rice (*sakharbhat*).

References to mushrooms are available in *Mahabharat* and *Apastambha dharmasutra*. In these works mushrooms have been mentioned as *sarpachatras*. According to the above mentioned works, Brahmins were forbidden to eat mushrooms. *Karhades*

and *Chitpavan Brahmins* did not eat mushrooms. *Gavdas* were expert in collecting non-poisonous mushrooms. Mushrooms grew on the anthills in the forests around July-August every year. The early inhabitants of Goa, the *Gavadas* may have used mushooms from pre-Christian era. The region of Goa was a thick forest. In the ancient period, the area of these forests might have been larger. Bamboos were grown in these forests. Tender bamboos were used as vegetable. In Sanskrit, tender bamboos are called *venuyava* and in Konkani, it is called *kill*. Tender bamboo was considered to be very nutritious.

On certain days like *Asadha* and *Kartika Ekadashi*, people were supposed to fast. On such days those who were on fast were not supposed to eat rice. However, pulses like *mung*, wheat preparations like *chapatis* and sweet potatoes could be eaten.

One of the early stone inscriptions dated c.500 A.D. from Nundem refers to jackfruits (Artocarpus heterophylus). Mangoes were themost popular fruit in Goa as well as in the Deccan. In a recently discovered stone inscription of Jayakeshi III from Navalur near Dharwad, reference to mango occurs. In Goa there were mango-groves and villages having such mango-groves were named *Amravan* and these villages were colloquially called *Amone*. A village in Ponda taluka was named after the *bora* fruit (Zizphus jujuba) as *Bori*. *Jamba* (Eugenia jambulana), *watermelon* (Kajinda), *lavali* (Cicca disticha), *avla* and pomegranates (*dalimba*), banana (*kadali* or *keli*) were the common fruits grown in Goa.

Among the commonly grown vegetables, brinjal (*vangi*), ladyfinger (*bhendi*), cucumber (*tavase*), bittergourd (*karli*), pumpkin (*kushmand*), snake-gourd (*padval*), drumsticks (*shenga*), Yam (*surana*), sweet potatoes (*kanaga* or *ratala*). Many of the above fruits and vegetables were used by the early *Gavada* settlers.

Betel Leaves and Arecanuts

THERE are no references of chewing betel leaves in *Sutra* litrature or in the epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharat*.For the first time betel chewing is mentioned in Jakata literature. Kings and nobles were also fond of betel leaves. In the inscription of

Rattaraja, the Southern Silahara King, there is a reference to the officials called *Hadap* who looked after the requirements of betel leaves for the king. The reference to the offerings of betel leaves is found in the copper plate of Khandepar dated 1348, the Velus stone inscription of 1402 A.D. and stone inscriptions of Nageshi dated 1414 A.D. In the copper plate of Khandepar, betel leaves and arecanuts were offered as symbol of hospitality and respect. However, in the Velus stone inscriptions of Nageshi betel leaves formed a part of the offerings (*naivedya*) to the deity. After lunch some people chew betel-leaves along with arecanuts. Lime was applied to betel leaves and other ingredients like Katechu, minced dry copra, betel nuts and cardamon were added to it. There was a general belief in the society that chewing betel leaves after lunch or dinner helped digestion. In most of the rituals, betel leaves and arecanuts aniconically reprented *Ganesha*, the remover of obstacles.

Amusement and Entertainment

AMUSEMENT and entertainment provided recreation to the society. Games, dramas, dance and music provided such entertainment. Religious plays were staged in the temples during the fairs (*jatras*). These were based on folk-traditions and were called *jagars*. The word is derived from *Jagran* which means to keep awake through the night in honour of a particular god or goddess. In order to keep the devotees awake throughout the night, these dramas based on mythology were staged. There was a community called *Pern* in Ponda taluka which specialised in performing *jagars*. The community of *Pern* is clubbed with *Devdasis* and *Bhavins* in the Portuguese writings. It seems that *Pern* was a subcaste of the above two castes. These *jagars* were of two types. The dramas staged during *Jatras* in the vicinity of the temple by the members of the *Pern* community were of a kind. The second type of *jagars* were not associated with the annual fairs of the temple and were purely meant for social amusement. The *gavdas* were experts in the second type of *jagars*. These were also based on the story of *Bali*. The songs were accompanied by a percussioned instrument, a pot called *ghumat*. The skin of a reptile is fixed to the outer side of the pot and the

other side is kept open. The community of the *Pern* who performe *jagars* in the vicinity of the temple were professionals. Thi community was in close contact with *Devadasis* and *Bhavins* an hence from the former it might have been influenced as far a music is concerned.

In South Goa in Canacona taluka and in the Majali area o Uttara Kannada district, folk dramas, localled called *khel*, were performed. The theme of the *khels* was also Hindu mythology and the dialogues were both prose and verses. In war scenes soldiers danced with martial mood. The *sutradhara* was the first to enter the stage and he was called *Bhagavat*. The next actor who came on the stage was called *Kodangi*. This seems to be a Kannada word used for monkey. The person who used to perform gestures like a monkey on the stage was, therefore, called a *Kodangi*. In Karnataka the above performance of *khel* was called *doddat* or *bailat*. In Dakshina Kannada district these performances are called *Yakshagana* and there is a considerable similarity between *khel* and *yakshagana*. It is suggested that the people of Goa who migrated in the 13th and the 16th centuries to Dakshina Kannada might have influenced the art of *yakshagana*. The form of the verse used in *yakshagana* is of a couplet (a stanza consisting of two lines). It is called *ovi* in Konkani and Marathi. Similar couplets are used in *yakshagana*. Therefore, the art of *khel* might have been popular in Southern Goa from ancient medieval times.

Virabhadra

IT seems to be again a dramatic performance based on folk-dances performed annually in Ponda, some parts of Sanguem and Sanquelim. The descriptions available of it in writings create an impression that *Virabhadra* is similar to khel. Karnataka influence is seen on this stage performance. *Virabhadra* dances with two swords in his hands. Musical instruments like dholak and tasha percussion instruments accompany the play. The costumes are of Karnataka origin, even slogans raised - *Kailasa valage Virabhadra anna haudu* (*Shankara*'s son / elder brother *Virabhadra*).

The tradition of conducting *kirtans* may have come into

vogue during the post Kadamba period. The *abhangas* and Jnaneshwari may have been utilised in the *kirtans*. In these *kirtans* mythological stories and anecdotes were narrated. *Kirtans* provided entertainment as well as facilitated revitalising moral and ethical values in the society.

Goa being a thickly forested area durint the ancient times, had rich wildlife. Therefore, hunting was an ideal pastime. During winter, kings and nobles used to go hunting. There are epigraphic references to a Kadamba king killing a tiger. He was hence called *Vyaghamari*. The Marathas from Goa were also fond of hunting. Animals like tiger, leopard, deer and bear were hunted. Cockfights were also common in Goa. Knives were tied to the legs of the cocks before they were sent in to the field for fighting. The powerful cock which could fight aggressively wounded the other cock. In fact some cocks bled. These cockfights could be used as a pretext for a kind of gambling. The owner of the defeated cock had to pay the amount which was fixed before the combat. In an area called 'Tereios dos Galos' in Old Goa such cockfights were helt. These cockfights were abolished by the Portuguese in the 17th century.

Keeping pets like dogs, cats and parrots also provided some kind of entertainment. According to a Jain work, Jayakeshi I ended his life on account of the death of his parrot. The source may be lacking credibility, but it certainly indicates the love and affection which the king had for his parrot.

There were indoor games like chess for the children and the elders. In Goa and North Konkan there was a game similar to chess, called *tabul phale*. 14 sockets were carved in two rows on a wooden plank. On both sides was a larger socket to keep the pawns. These pawns were yellow, red, blue and green in colour. There was another game called *saripat* played during the festival of Diwali but only by the elite.

The children played different games. Girls played hop-scotch, called *langadi* in Konkani. There was yet another indoor game for the girls, called *atya patya* in Marathi. In Konkani this game was called *Ekuteni*, *Dukutini*, *Thapa* and *Jirki*. This game was played with pebbles by sitting and the pebbles had to be thrown into the air, to be caught. In *Ekuteni* only the pebble was to be caught and then, subsequently, two, three, four and finally

all. If one was missed, the player lost the game. There were other games like hide and seek. It was popular amongst children.

From the above discussion it could be inferred that while the dress and food habits during the ancient and medieval period had evolved as per the geographical conditions, the ornaments and amusements showed the taste of the people who used them.

The White Walls of Santa Inês

VASCO PINHO

Most people in Panaji know where Santa Inês is and what generally it is associated with. The place, like most of the rest of the capital, grew out of a mosquito infested marshland, reclaimed patiently by the Portuguese over a period of hundred years. Besides having thus been associated with not so nice surroundings, in the past, not many people had really felt enthusiastic about living at Santa Inês as the place had been the city's resting ground for its dead.This western part of Panaji had thus remained sparsely inhabited for decades. Only a few families, including that of a well known doctor, lived in the area. For a long time in fact, his was the only sprawling house located in the Ward; it was hidden from the road, almost invisible to the eye of the road user. In that large mansion - many still remember - there lived a young widow with her son. She was known as the widow, more from the black that she wore, though some of her neighbours had heard that, at the age of twenty, she had been married to a Portuguese army officer whose whereabouts, just a little later, nobody knew; and even those who remembered more details, had been more or less convinced that he had returned to Portugal at the end of his army commision in Goa. Some of those people had lived with the impression that she too had been to Europe with him; and that she had returned a widow, in a matter of few months. So, there were some who suspected the story to have had a less sober outcome. When young Beatriz returned to Goa - it was believed - she was carrying a hidden passenger, four weeks old. And, within months of their arrival, a male child was born.

Despite the many embarrassing moments that the family had to go through, one has to understand that the birth of a male child had brought great joy to the old doctor. The baby had the fair colour that most of the locals, colour conscious Goans,

appreciate; not to say admire. The kid grew normally, naughty and stronger than many others, aware like other children, that he too must have had a father. It is an entirely different matter that he did not miss him, for he belonged to the loving mother and to the fatherly grandfather. The child's *avõ* played the *papa*'s role so well in the household that he more than compensated for the missing father. The baby was named Francisco Paul Sales de Guimarães, thus bearing a surname not commonly found among the natives.

During the young years of *Chiquinho*, the little boy had to walk - from the suburb to the city centre - for almost a kilometre to reach the primary school where the school building was located. The road he had to take from Tonca to Santa Inês was covered with a thick growth of mango tree and *acacias* on both its sides. The place was isolated. When unaccompanied, the little fellow used to take a brisk walk to school through that stretch of road, to avoid being seized by its isolation, especially after crossing the main trail that was used by many people to shorten the distance between Tonca and Taleigao; or, more probably out of the fear of being attacked by highwaymen who - he had heard many people say - were opeating in the area until a few years earlier. This entirely justified fear had to a certain extent subsided in most people after some locals built a cross by the roadside, somewhere on the inner part of Tonca culvert; but it had not passed off completely from many an unconvinced mind.

With the passage of time, Chiquinho got accustomed to the fact that hardly anyone was to be seen on the road at 7.30 in the morning. So, he preferred to reach the city area as quickly as he could. An occasional cyclist would overtake him or he would be accompanied by a stray dog over the short stretch of the dog's territory. In the final year of his Primary, *Quarta Classe*, Francisco Paulo or Chiquinho made the distance alone as, by then, at home, he was considered to have grown big enough to have to be accompanied by an attendant or anyone else. A resolute mother wished to see he son grow into a resolute man. Nevertheless, the real worry of Dona Beatriz was that the child might feel tempted to take a walk inside the high walled white enclosure around the Church of Santa Inês, for that place she considered to be unfit for children. She herself had never ventured inside it, alone. It is

this wall that has remained until now synonymous with the suburb of Santa Inês. Moreover, she herself harboured some deep rooted impression that her own *real* father might have been actually buried here. She knew for sure that she was not the daughter of the old doctor, as did most other people. Her conviction was borne out of her own physical appearance. She had not failed to notice the broad wrist, the solid ankles and the ivory colour of her skin. Yet, she loved the old man as a true daughter does. On his part, Doutor Sales had given sufficient proof of an overwhelming affection for his Beatriz as few other fathers had done for their own daughters or sons.

Chico grew into a fine lad, an accomplished sportsman, and a brilliant student, first in the Primary, then in Liceu, but also later. He topped the list of students, scoring deznove valores every year, and obtained vinte valores in the final 7 Ano - something that was heard of in the academic circles at the most once in ten years. Being a student of the Science stream, he opted for Medicina and turned out to be one of the best students to have ever passed through our well known *Escola Médica*. Becoming a doctor had been some sort of a first priority - a tradition one could say - with some of the Goan families. When he finally earned his stethoscsope, Dr. Chico was given a bolsa by the State to further his studies in Portugal. He left Goa in 1959 at the age of twenty-four.

At home, the young doctor had received all the encouragement he needed to proceed to Portugal for a specialization in Orthopaedics. This eventually took him to Europe where he gave a demonstration of his rare brilliance and won accolades from colleagues and teachers. He defended a thesis in *Deformidades Osseas entre Indigenas do Litoral Salcetano* with great originality; and within two years he obtained his *Licenciatura* degree from the *Universidade de Coimbra*. For the next fourteen years the young Indiano worked in several hospitals including the *Hospital de Sao Jorge* as a senior surgeon.

During his stay in Portugal, he couldn't escape being influenced by the desire to breathe in the free atmosphere. Salazar's fascist regime had isolated Portugal and also insulated it from much of the progress Europe had witnessed after World War II. Not only he became an anti-Salazarist, but he also felt a

strong urge to return to Goa to fight for the independence of th
Estado da India. It was this strong indentity with the destiny
Goa, Damao e Diu that eventually saw Chico bidding farewell
Europe and return to Goa.

• • •

Some fifty-three years after he had left Escola Primari
Massano de Amorim, from where he had passed his *Segundo Gra*
a desolate man, now, Chico walked into the forbidden walle
enclosure, around the Church of Santa Inés, in search of dea
and precious memories. Many of these lay buried in the tw
hectares of land that comprise the cemetery area, within thos
high enclosured walls. The hopeful doctor wanted to find the famil
grave, where some of his ancestors had been given their fina
resting place. But more than anything else, he was trying t
retrieve the mortal remains, a few bones of Beatriz, his mothe
who had expired in 1962, at the age of forty-seven, a year afte
the Portuguese had left the concentration camps at Ponda an
Navelim. She had died, unreconciled, from the mental trauma c
having seen the end of the Portuguese rule. She had been
witness to the end of the Goan race. In holding on to this view
she was not alone. Even Dr. Dessai from Verem - she used to tel
others - had felt much the same; and he had desolately cried i
public over the dramatical political change. It had been a uniqu
incident where a Hindu had felt so much the departure of th
Portuguese. Many people had found it strange that the docto
had not felt himself liberated; and was, therefore, ungrateful t
the Indian Army, more so because he was a Brahmin. In tha
surcharged atmosphere - Beatriz remembered well - some youn
locals had gone to beat him up in the morning of the *historic* 19tl
of December.

Chico, the doctor and the scientist, this time walked throug
the several segments of the cemetery until he reached the on
he deciphered as being the *Terceira Classe*. When he read th
board, he forgot why he had entered the place; and he was puzzle
by what he had read on the small landmark: TERCEIRA CLASSE
(?!). He knew well that in Goa, as in the rest of India, there ar

classes among the living; but that the dead too should fall within segments or classes looked so distasteful to him; it was something that he could not understand or accept. He looked around, and there he noticed two men, one of whom was digging out bones, the left overs of life. At that moment, he remembered once again why he had walked into the place. Yet, he succumbed to an impulse: to approach and talk to the duo.

"Do you speak Konkani?" He asked.

"*Oi, Oi*", replied the two in the affirmative.

Being familiar with skeletons since his days at the Escola Médica Cirúrgica de Goa, Chico at once gauged that the bones must have been of a well built man, going simply by the size of the occipital and the shape of the jaw. The one repugnant thing about the whole sight was that part of the flesh was still stuck to some of the calcium formations. The body must have been buried for just a little over one year. One of the men was cleaning the flesh off a massive bone with his bare hands, holding it like a cricket bat. The chap was dead drunk, unshaven, with his hair untidy, munching some red substance which ke kept spitting out - a thick blood-like red sputum - every minute or two. The other man stood outside the grave, inflated like a *conquistador*, maintaining an air of assumed self-importance, indeed of superiority over the other. Chico looked into his eyes, intensely. This prompted the other to open his mouth.

"*To Gantty*", he said to his curious intruder, as if referring to a savage. "*Amche lokh addank hat lainant!*"

Chico knew what he was saying, but got the message that only one of them was a Goan; the other a non-Goan, probably from Belgaum or Khanapur, or some other place around; Hubli... could be.

"What is your name?" asked the Portuguese educated doctor to the *Ghantty*, in Konkani.

"Siddappa, Laxman Siddappa" - came the reply, his mouth letting out a strong odour of adulterated liquor. It smelled of foecal matter.

"And your name?" He asked again, turning to the other.

"My name is John Peter Fernandes", he said, adding that he was an Upper Division Clerk of the Panjim Municipality, as well as Fiscal and Deputy Sarpanch of Teleigão. "I am also..." he

was about to add.

Chico did not let him complete the sentence and asked them why the body was being exhumed before the generally mandatory period of three years. Or, had the period been reduced...? he conjectured.

The petty Municipality Official explained that the burial ground was insufficient for the many who were dying of malaria and AIDS. Yes, SIDA! - that was precisely what the general condition of the drunk Siddappa suggested to the *Licenciado* from Coimbra.

Soon after he had returned to Goa, following the bloodless young captains' coup of 25 April 1974 in Portugal, drawn home by his nationalistic leanings, Dr. Francisco Paulo Sales de Guimarães, the son of Beatriz de Sales and Ten. Col. Paulo Guterres de Guimarães, our Chico, hoped to see his native Goa turned into another Brazil, with Portuguese as the official language and with *sossego* as its rhythm of life. However, in a matter of few years, he had gone through a volley of frustrations. Goa had become the empty dream of nationalists like him, the valley of sorrows to many a peace loving Goan, the paradise of the rowdy, a haven to many criminals, a Persian Gulf to thousands of others; and a place where smugglers, government officials, policemen, and even a number of Catholic priests had made fortunes. The Goan horizon was also dominated by some two hundred *social workers*.

Whereas the former Portuguese colony had managed not to become a minor dependency of the powerful state of Maharashtra, Chico did not fail to notice among other things, the ever dwindling number of Goans and the ever increasing instances of violent ourcomes of legal and other disputes. His own alma mater, *Liceu*, had ceased to exist. The hundred year old institution had been condemned to a slow death. Being a Portuguese medium school, it had been considered an undesirable institution, foreign and Portuguese above all. Likewise, Escola Médica Cirúrgica de Goa was buried under the foundations of the new Goa Medical College. But a worse thing that had happened - according to him - was that he had seen the downfall of Goans as a distinct Indian sub-type, the one strongly adhering to law and order, to civilized and civic forms of behaviour, well mannered and well matured, pacific, polite and polished, honest and generally made up of men

and women of character. Times had radically changed and the Goan archetype had undergone a transformation; he had changed, but for the worse.

Of late, he was shocked to see some Hindus selling beef and an undue number of Catholic priests becoming enamoured with riches and worse things. The old Puritanism had perished under the weight of the new socio-political order. For some, Goa was going through a silent revolution. To him, much of it caused revulsion. At least, he had felt so on many occasions. He could not ignore some of the new highlights of the local life, one where the unimaginable was accepted; where *trendy* Reverends set the pace of religion. He had read of too many road accidents involving two wheelers driven by priests. In more than one case, the pillion riders were women. Why did Hindu priests not meet with such accidents was one of the pertinent questions in his mind. Dr. Chico was lost in his thoughts for some time. Then, suddenly, he woke up again to the reality of Siddappa's world of drinks, bones and AIDS.

The poor *Ghantty*, like many others - Chico understood - was wanted by the locals, for such jobs as digging roads and burying the dead. Many of these diggers of roads and graves were slaves of labour contractors, brought to Goa from remote Indian villages for laying cables and removing rubbish from the streets; just as under the Portuguese, the elite Goans needed the *bonguis* to carry night soil. Now more than ever, the well being of Goans could be built only and largely on the sweat of imported labour from across the borders of the State. Of all the contradictions of our newly liberated Goan life - Chico thought - none was more tragic than the one he witnessed at the burial ground of Santa Inês on that hot morning of May. During those few moments, Dr. Francisco Paulo de Guimarães felt a bit ashamed that he was a Goan. He remembered what his mother had told him about good old Dr. Dessai, who once had said: "When the race needs some others to bury its dead, it is clearly a dying race."

The Portuguese-trained doctor shook his head; left the cemetery crestfallen, for he was told by the *Fiscal* that after the present boundaries of the burying grounds had been fixed and the old ones changed, many family graves had become untraceable and that is why he, the *Fiscal*, personally felt that the doctor had

very few chances of retrieving his mother's remains. But, despit
such odds, the faithful son did not abandon the idea of finding
them, for even though he had been a nationalist, under th
circumstances, he had taken the final decision to return t
Portugal. He wanted to carry those sacred bones along with him
He believed that a Goan could remain a Goan only in the Indo-
Portuguese cultural milieu, not in the Indianised Anglo-Goan on
as it exists now. He knew of several prominent former Goan
nationalists who had gone to the extent of obtaining Portuguese
passports for their children.

Chico left the cemetery in a very pensive mood, as if he were the last of the Mohicans. He looked most depressed as he crossed the cemetery's lateral gates, the one which opens from the Church side.

Revisioning the Empowerment of Women

Dr. KIRAN BUDKULEY

THE TERM *'empowerment'* implies the investiture of authority pertaining to possession, position, system or relationship in an individual and/or a group within a given hierarchial context. However, the term does not confine itself to this seemingly innocuous idea. It also holds the unsavoury notion that such an authority does not come about spontaneously or vest with a given individual / group naturally, in the fitness of things. It rather implies that authority or power if we so prefer to call it *has got to be generated* in a person / group from "within" or endowed from "outside" through some extraneous source of empowerment or agent of authority.

In other words, the well-known phrase *"empowerment of women"* is a concept that carries with it, if not the shameful stigma, at least the distressful reminder that women as a species, as a group or as individuals are *either devoid of or non-privileged* to exercise power as naturally and as "freely" as their male counterparts do. This is certainly a matter of grave concern for our "civilized" world on the threshold of the new millennium. As such, it is necessary at this juncture to review the position of women vis-a-vis empowerment and analyze the various attempts made by the world to tackle the problem of *empowerment* of women.

Fortunately for humankind, the candid contemporary acceptance of this problem as a universal phenomenon came with the United Nations declaration of the 90s as the decade of the girl-child. This was a clear indication that despite the constitutional equality granted to women in the post-revolution

socialist countries in the 20s, in post-colonial democracies including India in 50s, and in the 'first world' in the 60s, women across the world are still a neglected, undercared and de-powered community. Further, this is a tacit admission that notwithstanding the culmination of the radical feminist movement of the 70s in the UN declaration of the decade for women (1975-85), not much has been achieved globally for women. Indeed, it is a sad reminder that despite the annual token commemorations of the women's day across the world, the lot of women has in essence improved but little and empowered even less!

Yet, this latest United Nations Declaration holds a promise of the continued commitment of the concluding century into the coming millennium to the long-neglected cause of women and should be welcomed as such. Moreover, the recent attempts by the world forum to link the issue of *empowerment of women* to the exigent issues faced by the world community have given it not only a wider context but also a much desirable perspectivity. This is a positive sign for feminist cause. Further, the extension of the scope of *empowerment of women* to all spheres of human activity and the engagement of all major disciplines including sciences and humanities to women-related issues is an indication of humanity's new-found intent to create a woman-friendly epistemology. This augurs well as the future basis for *empowerment*.

However, this contemporary concern need not be exaggerated to seem unique or to pressure that hitherto the civilized world had never thought about woman-related issues such as, the male-female power equation, the gender disparity prevalent in the society or the relative sexual bias that fans such disparity. If one is to believe Timothy J. Reiss, "By 1792, when Mary Wallstonecraft published what has been called the manifesto of modern feminism, **A Vindication of the Right of Woman**, most of its principal arguments had been aired for a good three centuries or more. Christine de Pizan may have been an isolated early voice, but Agrippa, Marguerite de Navarre, Thomas Elyot, Marie de Gournay, and others were precursors of a considerable literature asserting woman's rights to education, to positions of political and religious power, to all material and spiritual benefits of civil society, and to freedom from men's domination."[1]

The dawn of enlightenment in the West and the spread of education in India[2] spearheaded the issues, first of women's education and then, of their rights and privileges. Interestingly, this early pro-woman thought, rightly considered education as the stepping stone to the elevation of the lot of women. However, there was a hitch in this early woman-oriented thought that later became the bane of woman-friendly discourse. Ironical as it may sound today, the idea of enlightened reason, inspite of being in favour of educational opportunity for women, excluded "what is claimed as 'female' with increasing aggression relegating it to its 'own' domain of sensibility, instinctional receptivity, nurturing protectiveness and childlike fancy."[3] True, the characteristics so mentioned were among the ideas considered by the Judeo-Christian tradition as *feminine* but "they had not been *until then always seen* as positive, or indeed even as descriptive of women's entire nature. From the late seventeenth century onwards, however, they received an increasingly positive and exclusive valuation."[4] (italics mine).

Thus, this early voice of feminism, being itself the prisoner of the limited perception of that age, could hardly place the women-related issues squarely on the foundation of reason or give it the enduring basis of gender parity. It preferred to see the rights of women in the context of women as a deprived class of females *not necessarily* as an equal gender to the male. Perhaps it was an indirect fallout of this definition of *feminine* that western women took almost the better part of a century to demand equality and gender parity, inspite of having vigorously agitated for decades to win suffrage in 1800s (in England in 1920s).[5] Another major issue of women's movement in the late 1800s was the right to birth control. Yet, the contemporary world probably saw this agitation as mainly a *feminine* issue.

Still this pro-feminine concern did pave the way for more perceptive, more egalitarian, even more militant movement of our own time. This radical modern movement took off vociferously in the 60s - Incidentally also the decade of civil rights agitation and students protests - when women in the post-War West had joined the work force in large numbers and found that they were being discriminated against with regard to working conditions, promotions and the like. Further, the women also realized to

their chagrin that they were sought to be stereotyped in middle-class value-based roles, thereby discouraging, even disqualifying them from contesting for equitable challenges and roles of authority in industrialized societies.

Thus this feminist protest vied initially for a grossly superficial equality per se, within the social structure of polities founded on capitalist economy. Interestingly, many of "the countries that underwent Communist revolutions or takeovers granted women equal rights in Western societies."[6] It is thus that the predominant pro-feminist argument of the cold war era was that "in order to change the conditions of women's oppression we must change the logic of capital..." subsuming "feminist struggle into the larger struggle against capital."[7] It created in its wake a generation of radical females who, under the illusion of equality, struggled to become *counter-males* losing out on their womanly essence in the bargain. The thawing of the cold war in the 70s helped much in realizing this counter-achievement.

Soon feminist visionaries were to see such economy-bound independence as a limited, material and *objective equality*. They saw that it failed to touch the core issues of feminist concern, such as the repositioning of the female from the status of object to subject, the projection of a woman-friendly view of existence, the subversion of the purely andro-centric concept of divinity, protecting the feminine ethos, defining women's gender priorities with regard to margins of race-nationality-class and so on. These issues were sidelined or suppressed not only in a cross-section of social interactions but also in the primarily male-biased literary tradition. Since this tradition conditioned, even controlled, most politico-cultural thought, the feminists aspiring for comprehensive revolution in social thinking viewed such *male-subjective authority* of literary tradition as a major threat to the women's cause.

Considering the substantial literary mileage covered by feminist writers, this was reason enough for concern. This concern is succintly voiced in the feminist admission that "...we have witnessed the flourishing of feminist publications, the recuperation of lost texts by women, the re-conceptualization of canon and history and the development of interdisciplinary methods of teaching and research. Yet some of the most prominent critics feel that the force of feminism has been consistently blunted."[8]

Thus the need not only to retrieve the intrinsically woman-oriented oral literature but also to create woman-friendly epistemology[9] became inevitable and literature as well as literary criticism was seen to have a major role in the offing.

Carolyn Heilbrun moots the very idea in her address to the administrators of English departments while expressing resentment that "among all the changes of 'the life and the thought', only the feminist approach has been scorned, ignored, fled from, at best reluctantly embraced... Deconstruction, semiology, Derrida, Foucault may question the very meaning of meaning as we have learned it, but feminists may not do so."[10] In other words, the feminists had realized that, "what is at issue here is not only the immediate practical problem of women achieving power within existing cultural institutions, but also the equally immediate and practical problem of refabricating those institutions."[11] This was a major conceptual leap in the empowerment of women for which the feminists in the late 80s deserve credit. Consequently, the *objective thinking* on *isolated* women-related issues hitherto constructing the feminist discourse was replaced by greater *perspectivity* and wider *contexture*. As a fallout of this, a new and comprehensive debate on feministic concerns in the widest of contexts emerged in the eighties.

Coincidentally, when the feminists were trying to locate the issues of primacy to women centrally, the world was also compelled by circumstances to review its own priorities from a new perspective. By the early 70s, ecological issues had begun to pre-occupy the thoughts and actions of the world community and its decision-makers particularly in the rich developed countries. The United Nations Conference on Human Environment (UNCHE) which became functional in 1972 was one of the early manifestations of this preoccupation. Although it achieved little globally, it served as "a catalyst for future environmental negotiations... and... injected a new impetus to the considerations of the ecological dimensions of international relations."[12] From here to the 1992 Earth Summit at Rio with its Climate Convention, Bio-Diversity Convention and Agenda 21 (the extended blueprint for common international action) the international community has come a long way in pursuance of common agenda concerning economy, ecology, and human resource. Strangely enough, this

has greatly benefitted - albeit indirectly - the cause of women.

Several seemingly unconnected issues such as lopsided industrialization, exhaustion of natural resources, depletion of the ozone layer, population explosion, collapsing economies, environmental threats and information boom colluded in the 90s into one huge bang of common global threat and put on anvil the possibilities of an emergent world order. In this new order, constructs like *centre and periphery* which reveal the tendency to want to make the world less complex by organizing it according to one principle, naturally became an anathema. The lifting of the iron curtain further facilitated the change. In fact, with the collapse of Marxist polities, the sweeping changes necessitated in the existing global scenario made an extremely liberal and accommodative interpretation of the world order imperative.

As a result, the early 90s witnessed more integrated, more accommodative thinking on the ensuing globalization with economic liberalization in toe and set the world agog with the blueprint of the New World Order that made room for variety, multiplicity, complexity and growth - incidentally also the feminist priorities. To suit the extant power-equations it was necessary to posit this emerging world order at least theoretically, outside the periphery of the bi-polar power-politics as it was imperative to keep it well away from the centre of uni-polar hegemony, on a platform of common priority acceptable to all. It is thus that the 90s proclaimed an ecology-based world order - comprehensive, consensual and universally relevant. This also suited the feminist interests to the letter.

In this emergent order, the unifying thrust of ecological oneness sought to replace the economy-linked interpretation of sustainable development of the erstwhile economy-centred order. A hallmark of this change was an eco-centric sensibility which "seeks to optimize those qualities that enhance interdependency and mutual constraint in ecological order... When priorities must be set... to protect nature... the priorities that must prevail are the intrinsic qualities of ecological order in support of nature's sustaining *telos* - integrity, stability, diversity."[13] In this "Green politics" of global environment among other things the traditional idea of cultural theory and practice also required new thinking because it questions the "predominant view of 'culture' and

'nature' (that) presupposes that there is a barrier or filter between ourselves and the natural world..."[14]

To ensure the viability of this newly ushered in world order, it had to be interpreted in terms of a tenable relationship among economy, environment and humanity. The environmentalist vision of a global ecosystem made it all the easier for nature to become categorized as a factor of global economic production and for the human resource to be seen in its dual capacity as the beneficiary as well as the sustaining link of this ecosystem. It was now necessary to secure this rediscovered link in terms of a lasting bond (that is the woman). That eventually led to the re-establishment of the age-old bonding of feminity with ecology in the form of "Eco-feminism", "*a new term for an ancient wisdom*", (which itself) grew out of various social movements - the feminists, peace and ecology movements in the late 1970s and the early 1980s"[15] (italics mine).

It is thus that the comprehensive security and welfare of the woman through education, employment, health and mental well-being became the top-priority of this decade. Moreover, *empowerment of the woman* became the watchword of this era and has gradually evolved into a mature interpretation of womanhood as being vital to creativity and of feminine ethos as being a fundamental aspect of human culture. Thus eco-feminism has recovered for humanity, the bonding which the post-industrialization civilized world in its blind proclamation of material progress and an equally dumb adherence to *economic dynamics* had come to sever.

This has greatly helped posit the woman at the centre of vital discourse on global matters. On a more concrete level this has created the much-needed global awareness that woman as an individual or as a species has to have her rightful space in the hierarchies of power including politics. In countries like India this has encouraged the long-due extension of reservation to women in the grassroot level of political institutions and legislation for similar reservation in regional and central legislative bodies is pending in the absence of political consensus / will in the male-dominated political structure of the country. While this is reason enough for despair, it is by no means something exclusive to India. Sadly, it is symptomatic of the measured pace of this concluding

century towards the *empowerment of women* and prognostic o the future impediments that the new millennium must needs address!

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3. Poovey, Mary 1984. **The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer.** Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 3-113.
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The Inquisition of Goa

DELIO DE MENDONÇA

There is so much talk about the Inquisition these days. At the time it existed the people did not dare to speak abut the Inquisition but with much fear and respect. But how many do know what exactly it was? We know that it was notorious for its severities. The prisons of the Inquisition were full of innocent people. The solemn fires to burn the heretics (persons who had deviated from the true Christian faith) - much publicized by the inquisitors themselves to serve as deterrent for Christians from such deviations - had become infamous then, and even today they cause terror and whip up emotions. These fires historically known as *autos-de-fé* or profession of faith, wer made on the occasion of the main religious festivities and they were witnessed by many people. This sort of inquisitorial 'justice' had been decried as the most cruel and impious thing in the world. There are other activities of the Inquisition less famous than the *auto-de-fé* but equally devastating: the intellectual censorship and denunciation of heretics (those who denied any point of the Christian faith).

The original purpose of the Inquisition was more preventive than punitive. But the Protestant Reformation and the Wars of Religion in Europe altered the main aim of this institution. Without losing its concern for orthodoxy (correct expression) of the faith and unity of Christendom, it became an institution of terror to all. It might have been more violent at times, depending on the support of the state to the inquisitors and on the moods of the missionaries.

How many years, even centuries, does it take us to realize the inhumanity of so many of our socio-religious customs that

were fully accepted and even divinized in past generations just t think of customs like slavery, *sati*, caste discriminatior untouchability, religious wars, gender discrimination, disrespec for manual labour, etc. The human mind develops slowly, ever very slowly in realizing the worth of values that guide or shoul guide human life and just as it happens in the sphere of natura sciences and technology so too in that of ethico and religious one Therefore, let us not read history with the glasses of moderı values.

Inquisition means 'search', 'investigation', judicial or officia 'enquiry'. Throughout the history of the Church, there has beeı some kind of inquisition or check to prevent heresies or deviation from the true faith. Throughout history various religious group have been making use of various means - some legitimate anc good, others less so - to instruct their followers in the tenets o their religion and to prevent them from deviating from the tru path. Deviations weakened the Catholic orthodoxy and affectec the unity of the faith. Hence, for this suppression of heresies o wrong doctrines or beliefs and to punish heretics an Ecclesiastica Tribunal was set up in the 13th century under Pope Innocent III It was reorganised in 1542 by Pope Paul III, who appointed si cardinals with undefined powers to try cases of heresy and t censor writings. It was established in Spain, France, Italy, Portuga and Netherlands, but never in England. The Inquisition was ir force in Rome till 1744, in France til 1772, in Spain till 1820. I was abolished in Portugal in 1820.

The Inquisition followed the trends set by the Council o Trent (the General Assembly of all the bishops of the Catholi Church that was convened and took place at Trent (Italy) betweer 1545 and 1563). The Council dealt, among other things, with the organisation of the Church, its doctrine and reforms. It completec the work of Counter-Reformation or Catholic Reformation, ar attempt of the Catholic Church to reform itself. However, the Council settled for traditional doctrines and old ideas.

The Inquisition in Portugal

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Europe was divided into two blocks, each one with rival ideologies. One block, Catholic,

highly conservative and loyal to the Pope, opposed the other one which was reformist and refused submission to the Pope. These rivalries and conflicts had a socio-economic basis. The doctrine of Luther in Germany polarized the two blocks and started an open war between them. Due to its geographical position, social composition, economic factors and political condition, Portugal aligned itself with the Western bloc against the Protestant one. The Inquisition began its activities in Portugal in 1534 but, unlike in other Catholic countries of the westernbloc, there was hardly any heretic to be repulsed from the Portuguese territory. There was hardly any Lutheran heretic who could pose a serious danger to the Catholic orthodoxy and unity of the faith in Portugal. The convert Jews did not appear to be a serious danger either. Nevertheless, Portugal felt that the Jewish converts could serve as a good justification for introducing the Inquisition in the country. Thus the convert Jews became the scapegoats and were made to appear as if they were the real heretics or threat against the orthodoxy of the faith.

In Portugal, many Jews had been converted by force and for this reason they continued to practise their former religion and customs in hiding, although publicly they presented themselves as good Christians. To practise the Jewish religion in this case was tantamount to a crime of apostasy and heresy and this was punishable by death and confiscation of wealth. The confiscation aspect assumed high proportion especially when the economic situation of the state had aggravated, for many converts of Jewish blood were extremely wealthy persons. It is not surprising, therefore, to hear that the rich received the harshest penalties, which involved confiscation of their wealth. The repression of such men in the name of heresy and apostasy could bring high revenue for the state and for the greedy inquisitors.

In 1531, John III asked the Pope for permission to organize the Inquisition in Portugal. The New Christians tried to stop this project with all their economic might, alleging that the Inquisition only intended to deprive them of their wealth. There is a vast documentation on this diplomatic war and the arguments of the New Christians appear to make more sense than those that were pro-Inquisition. Nevertheless, in 1536 the Pope, through a decree, permitted the establishment of the Tribunal of the Inquisition in

Portugal. Till 1684, one thousand three hundred and seventy ni persons were burnt in the *autos-de-fé*. After this period the numb of condemnations decreased, but they stopped only during th government of the Marquis of Pombal by the middle of th eighteenth century. The main accusations that led to a gre number of victims were related to the New Converts' 'crimes' continuing with Jewish practices or also witchcraft and depravit

Besides the burning of people, censorship picked up i victims. The censors had the right to cut or modify a text. On after the Holy Office had examined the literary work it could b published. Condemned books were listed in the *Index Libroru Prohibitorum*: books on "lascivious and dishonest things literature againt the "holy faith and good customs", works o astrology, witchcraft and the like. The second edition of *O Lusíadas*, the famous Portuguese epic by Luís de Camões, di not escape extensive cuts. Other famous humanists and write saw their works denounced or mutilated by the censorship of th Inquiition. This explains why Portugal remained isolated fro and uninfluenced by the scientific developments of Europe Despite the organised censorship many humanists produced goo literary works, but this sort of creative literary production decline during the second half of the seventeenth century. Likewise, ther was no literary production in Goa on themes of great risk. Th writer knew that the censor would be the first reader. The burnin of unorthodox or dangerous books was one of the several parts o the ceremony of the *auto-de-fé*.

To denounce a crime against faith during an age of profoun religiosity was considered a religious virtue and a meritoriou act, hence people did not miss the opportunity to denounc 'heretics'. The self-policing dominated two centuries of Portugues life and the people lived between the duty to denounce and th fear of being denounced. The Portuguese archives still hold twent thousand inquisitional cases and we known that many others wer lost.

The decadence of the Portuguese empire was attributed t the activities of the Inquisition. It took the Portuguese thinker of the nineteenth century to see that the Inquisition had bee the casue of stagnation of their society. But it took the critics o the twentieth century to point out that the Inquisition was not a

absolute cause of decadence, but it was a manifestation of the decadence that the Portuguese empire had already experienced during the rule of King D. Manuel, especially due to his anti-Jewish activities or religious intolerance. However, these critics do not deny that the Inquisition institutionalized, organized and interiorized this intolerance. It gave intolerance a moral and religious basis which accelerated the Portuguese decadence. These elements may help us to situate the Inquisition of Goa which followed the instructions of the Inquisition of Portugal.

The Inquisition in Goa

The tyrannical activities and instructions *(Regimento)* of the *Tribunal do Santo Oficio* of Goa - better known as the Tribunal of the Inquisition or simply Inquisition or Holy Office - are spoken about among us. It is a fact that the king of Portugal refused a few appeals to set up the Inquisition for India. Finally, in 1560 it was permitted to be set up and Goa became the headquarters of this Tribunal. The way the Inquisition functioned in Goa was very similar to that in Spain, Italy and Portugal. People were jailed for several years without knowing why. However, certain facts need to be made more obvious just as they also need to be placed in their proper historical context and perspective.

It is absolutely necessary to consider at this stage the emerging social and religious situations in Goa, the new demands the Portuguese empire and Christendom were making on the convert Jews or New Christians (there were a few of them in Goa), and on the Goan converts and Hindus. This framework may explain the main reasons for the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa.

Some Jews in Portugal, after being forcibly converted to Christianity, took advantage of their commercial opportunities overseas and used them to settle down in Goa. The relative freedom they enjoyed here encouraged them to neglect their Christian duties. There were a few rich New Christians leading a 'scandalous' life in Goa, according to the Missionaries, which meant that they were still practising their former religion. This scandalized the local converts, so the missionaries believed. The unchristian attitude of these New Christians preoccupied some

missionaries and scandalized others as well. This situati
prompted the ecclesiastical authority overseas to ask for t
Inquisition not only for Goa but also for India from 1545. Howev
there was no response from Portugal to some of the initial reques
for the Inquisition. Surprisingly, John III did not extend t
Inquisition to his overseas possessions. However, continuo
emigration of these New Christians from Portugal to Goa and
other parts of the Estado da India put pressure on the hon
authorities to set up the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Goa.

Secondly, the Portuguese empire needed more allies to car
out its commercial and religious project. After the conquest
Goa (1510), the Portuguese civil and religious authorities statione
here expected that all the Hindus would soon convert willingl
Favours and privileges had been offered to them to join th
Portuguese citizenry. However, when favours and persuasio
failed to achieve the desired results, force became rule either
make conversions or to halt Christian relapses. We know fo
certain that the local converts, even those who converted freel
were strongly inclined to local practices, customs in which the
had been brought up. They also mixed freely with the Hindu
The ecclsiastical authority had received information tha
Christians were favouring Hindu practices, which attitude harme
seriously the Christian faith.

Thirdly, to them at that time cultural conversion was a
important as religious conversion. However, social and religiou
relapses by the neo-converts were as unavoidable realities as the
were objectionable by the missionaries. Fortunately, suc
practices had to be overlooked or permitted at times for the sak
of social and communal harmony, and above all for the politica
stability of Goa. Nevertheless, the cosmopolitan context of Go
posed a constant and great danger to the purity of Christian fait
of the neo-converts, to the orthodoxy of Catholicism and the unit
of the faith. These were the main reasons that prompted the loca
ecclesiastical authority to ask for permission from the caretake
Portuguese ruler, Cardinal D. Henrique, to esablish th
Inquisition in India.

After persecuting and expelling the New Christians th
Inquisition turned its fury on the local converts. The relapse
local converts were treated with the same rigour as the Nev

Christians had been. It is interesting to note that despite a great number of New Christians in Brazil and their association with the Protestant Dutch, the rivals of Catholicism, the Inquisition was not established there. However, there was a representative of the Inquisition in Brazil but with very limited powers. Likewise, Inquisition did not interfere in Daman and Diu as it did in Goa.

The Hindus or Muslims were not subjected to the Inquisition, unless they converted. Nevertheless they were punished for breach of laws in favour of conversions. If it was proved that a Hindu or a Muslim tried to prevent anyone from becoming a Christian or helped a convert person to abandon his or her faith, such a person could be punished by the Inquisition. The network for denouncing even suspects was woven so well that it was almost impossible to escape condemnation if caught. But the worst was the self-censorship imposed by the people themselves and self-denunciation, for, if a third party denounced him or her, the person would be immediately arrested.

It was relapses into Judaism of the New Converts that brought Inquisition to Goa; the relapses into Hinduism by the Goan Christians extended the Inquisition activities to the converts and Hindus alike. Interestingly, despite relapses galore, the inquisitiors argued that 'reversion' or abandoning of the Christian faith by the local converts could not happen, since the Hindus would not accept the neo-converts back into their caste. It was believed that the new Portuguese context and Christianity itself made it impossible for the neo-converts to return to Hinduism. Nevertheless, the mechanism and measures devised by the Inquisition to prevent relapses or Hindu behaviour among the local Christians are well known. Many drastic measures were taken and serious efforts were made to keep the converts away from the Hindus and Hindu practices. The number of decrees and privileges in favour of conversions and even the instructions of the Inquisition itself speak for the preventive measures against relapses. This does not deny that some measures taken by the Inquisition aimed at increasing conversions or allies for the Portuguese empire.

Therefore, the Inquisition of Goa - we may also recall here the other supporting pillars or institutions of conversion or the Provincial Councils held in Goa during the sixteenth and early

seventeenth centuries - to correct customs that did not confo
to the accepted European Christian customs and achieve m
local allegiance made particular forms of European Catholici
(then considered the only true ones) a universal norm. This w
a logical coclusion of the decisions taken at the Council of Tr
(1545-1563). Being the centre of Christianity in the East and
place where the Inquisition of India had its headquarters, G
came directly under the Tribunal's influence.

The First Requests for the Inquisition

In 1543, Miguel Vaz, the vicar general of the diocese of Goa, ask
for the establishment of the Inquisition for India to reform t
unhealthy customs of the New Christians. There were al
requests to send more missionary preachers to teach these Ne
Christians who lived just like the Jews and Muslims without a
fear of God. Only preaching without the Inquisition would hard
produce the desired results, so the missionaries thought. T
mind of Francis Xavier is to be understood in this context. Lat
in 1559, Fr. Belchior wrote that the Inquisition was ever mo
necessary for India than any other place, sincer here the Christia
mixed freely with the Hindus, Jews and Muslims; besides, wh
was still worse was that the vastness and multiplicity of soci
customs of this land 'perverted' the conscience of its peoples. T
Muslims and heretics contaminated the faith of the go
Christians. These Christians lived among so many heretics th
without Inquisition no true faith was ever possible.

Contrary to previous appeals, in 1555 Fr. Baltazar Di
argued that the Inquisition would serve no purpose in Goa, sin
it would not be able to lead anyone to conversion. Hence
requested the home authorities not to introduce it in Goa. H
alleged that the faith of the local Christians was weak by natur
because their ancestors had not been Christians. Instead, Fr. Di
proposed the sending of more missionaries to India, becau
without them what had been achieved could be soon los
Similarly, Fr. P. M. Carneiro wrote in the same year that t
Inquisition could cause the already little and weak faith of t
Goan converts to disappear totally. Hence he recommended th
for at least twenty years no rigorous inquiry should be conduct

on the lives of the converts. Besides, any interference in the life of the neo-converts could prove a serious impediment for further conversions. He advised that it was necessary to go slow with these people, because God could not ask more than what one's nature was capable of. The governor Francisco Barreto (1555-1558) had also objected to the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa. Finally, the Tribunal of the Inquisition for the entire Estado da India was established. However, even before the Inquisition was established officially, there had already been orders to inquire about any suspect person, man or woman, living or dead, present or absent, no matter what his or her status might be. If there were found guilty of crimes of heresy or apostasy, judicial cases should be brought against them.

It was not a mere coincidence that during the government of the viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança (1558-1561), a period of great proselytizing activity, that the Inquisition came to Goa. Perhaps, the rule of the viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança marked by serious pro-conversion movements, had prepared the ground for the Inquisition. With the departure of this Viceroy in 1561, the situation for the Hindus and Christians alike improved temporarily.

The establishment of the Inquisition in Goa had raised some apprehensions. Some believed that the presence of this institution overseas would force the New Christians to migrate to basra and Cairo, and the Muslims against whom the Portuguese fought would certainly benefit from the financial situation of the New Christians. This alliance would obviously go against the interests of God and empire.

Christianity in Bardez had many idolatrous elements due to the laxity and negligence of the Franciscan missionaries, as indicated by the number of persons from Bardez condemned by the Inquisition to the *autos-de-fé*. Perhaps the areas where the other religious order like the Jesuit, the Dominican and the Augustinian worked were not very different either. However, it is known that Christianity in Bardez in the seventeenth century was terribly victimized by the Inquisition for relapses into Hindu practices, whereas the inquisitiors did not trouble the jesuit controlled areas with the same vigour.

It is important to understand the decisions, decrees, historiograpl and praxes of the Inquisition in their proper contexts. Delvir into facts and contexts without the right analytical framewor without understanding the intentions and the 'whys' behind tl idea and praxes of conversion in Goa or even the 'historica moment' of a determined action may prove dangerous, for on may end up only with a 'more' distorted or biased view of realit It is indispensable to pay attention to the issue of makin conversions and preventing relapses, and the need of politica stability to evaluate the functioning and aims of the Tribunal c the Inquisition. However, it is certain that the original aim of th Inquisition differed substantially from its praxes (decrees and it implementation). Hence, one has to take into account all sorts c historically conditioned facts to understand historical facts relate to this Tribunal.

The Tribunal of the Inquisition was a secular institutior but its purpose was religious as well as social: it worked to leve down religious and social differences and to minimize socia conflicts that could weaken the safety of the state. Suspects ir matters of faith and customs were held as potential enemies o the state and for this reason the Inquisition demanded that a person denouncs suspects in religious or political matters, ever though they be their family members. It maintained a stric religious and social discrimination, and anyone who opposed its *Regimento* (rules), or even the new converts who showed signs o relapses could have his or her goods confiscated.

Moreover, the Inquisition was supposed to mitigate if not eliminate completely the bad customs among the Christians. There was much *soltura e braveza na fé e religiam* (laxity and abuses within the faith) and *soltura dos costumes* (laxity regarding morals such as bigamy, gambling and concubinage. One of the Inquisition's aims consisted in offering protection to the local converts who were persecuted by the New Christians and by the Portuguese civil authorities.

The conversion policy of the government and of the Inquisition could differ from each other despite both having to work together. At times the government could be more tolerant

than this Tribunal. The attitude of the Church seemed to be more of precaution and prevention rather than punitive. But the stronger the Hindus became, the easier they were able to influence or force the weak converts to revert to their former religion. Preventive measures alone proved to be dysfunctional in a social context that remained unchanged. Hence, the inquisitors' interference with the non-Christian context and the issuing of harsh punitive measures against all the suspects.

Therefore, the aim of this secular tribunal, just as of the other institutions of conversion, was mainly the purity of the faith and unity in Christendom. But since it also meant to increase the numerical strength of the converts, it had necessarily to interefere with the Hindu group and its context. There is no doubt that the personal ambitions of the inquisitors also deviated the Inquisition from its original purposes, thus making it one of the most dreaded and criminal institutions known in history.

Though strange it might be, it is a fact that we can judge more accurately and impartially our remote past than our present condition. Perhaps we have to wait for the future to be able to assess our present moment correctly, since we are unable to do so now. It is easier to judge and comment on a historical moment that does not belong to us. However, the sacred historical principle is that one should not judge a determined historical period by values of another historical period. But this principles does not satisfy us. Apologies for historical wrongdoings may be good, but they will not settle anything once and for all when vested interests are at stake.

It seems that the fires of the Inquisition have not yet been fully extinguished and that they are lit from time to time today, not by acts of heresy, not even for the sake of historical truth, namely by the desire to learn from the past mistakes. Today it is the spirit of intolerance and fundamentalism that re-fuels and fans the smouldering ashes of the Inquisition. These are the modern 'heresy' that should be condemned.

Literatures in Portuguese Colonial Goa: The Battle of Puranas

ANAND PATIL

THE 1498 arrival of Vasco da Gama at Kalikat, six years afte "the Christopher Columbus Romance" in the West, and the 151 Afonso Albuquerque's invasion of Goa mark a double event and watershed in Indian civilisation and world history. But so far th post-colonial public as well as academic critical discourse seem to be concentrated only on, to use Sara Suleri's title, The Rhetori of English India and Gauri Vishwanathan's The Masks o Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India. Eve Meenakshi Mukherjee's Realism and Reality: The Novel an Society in India and Harish Trivedi's Colonial Transactions ar dominated by British imperialism and culture in India. What w need today is, in Edward Said's (1993:19) words, "a comparativ literature of imperialism" which will help us to formulate a alternative to a politics of blame, difference and confrontation This kind of somewhat secular interpretation can emerge from the contrapuntal analysis of very odd and hybrid colonia experiences in Portuguese Goa, British India and French Pondychary in India. My comparative studies (1993, 1999) of the western influences on the colonial Marathi drama in Maharashtr and the emergence of novel, epic and folk drama in the nineteenth century colonial Maharashtra and Goa respectively have demonstrated how alien culture and imperialisms have shaped our literary texts. The use of past in interpretation of the present text is one of the strategies; but this journey from mythological *Purana* to *Nutana* (modernity) during the colonial period was not so simple as Meenakshi Mukherjee (1985) has shown in case of Indian novel.

So I wish in this paper to disentangle the background of the battle of Puranas in Goa under the Portuguese rule and the healthy as well as stunted growth of the so called secular literary kinds born of "the clash of civilizations" in the process of literary cross-pollination from 1510 to 1961. However, it is not an exhaustive comparative history of Goan literatures in Marathi, Konkani and Portuguese and similar developments in the Konkani literatures in Karnataka and Kerala. Owing to the lack of knowledge of Portuguese language and the absence of well documented comprehensive literary history of Goan literature, this case study has its own limitations. It is a primary investigation of the literary as well as cultural acculturation in a very complex colonial situation. A great deal of critical debates have concentrated on compartmentalization of literary texts into two main wings, namely, Marathi and Konkani; and the Portuguese ones are destined to lie in the archives. My argument is that our conceptual geography and historical cosmology has never come to terms with its globality. With all its maximum cultural hybridity and colonial contradictions the independent Goa1 still contains many Manichean structures of colonial cities described by Frantz Fanon. This multiculturalism stimulates the kinds of interests and makes one feel as if one belongs to more than one history and one culture group. As a historical and cultural phenomenon which brings in new values and beliefs, an unknown language and foreign traditions, the colonization of Goa by the Portuguese, after the short-lived Muslim domination, marked one more new and lasting collision of two sets of values. Soon the scriptures and aural texts which were the marks of the Hindu identity in this region underwent unprecedented sea-change as they became the cultural battle-fields where the 'native' and alien armies fought crusades for centuries together. The history of those struggles in 'Estado da India' still continues to erupt in the form of separatist literacy discourse of Eurocentric proclamations. The only way out is to study these texts with a wide geographical and historical range.

One Tunisian Muslim witness to the 1498 event has cursed Vasco da Gama's entry into the Indian harbour and asked them as to why they had come there. Gama told Muslims that they had come in search of 'Christians and Spices'. ("Aldiabro que to

doo: quem to traxo a qua?" "Vimos buscar Christastados especiria."(2) The intentions of Euro-expansionism were no merely 'spices, sugar, slaves, rubber, cotton, tin, gold and silve or imperialism and colonialism. It was described as the missio of civilizing the uncivilized savages and in Said's words, "almos metaphysical obligation to rule subordinate, inferior or les advanced peoples." The same "metaphysical obligation" and th colonial cultural paradox is revealed in Albuquerque's first lette on 22nd Dec. 1510 from Goa to the King of Portugal, informing o his invasion of Goa. He reports that he has given strict orders t his soldiers to 'butcher' Muslims and Marathas - the martial races and marry especially "the Muslim beautiful widows" of those warriors. Further, he mentions modifications in his policy tha "the tillers of the soil and the Brahmins" are not to be killed at al (Cunha 1961:61). Similar Brahmin pleasing policy was adopted by the nineteenth century British rulers in Bombay. This was the part of their divide and rule policy and by converting Brahmanas by force or other means they created a comparado intellectual bourgeois class among Indian new Christians Originally this 2.5 percent minority culture group among Hindus was the monopolizer of knowledge and cultural capital, and the guardian of learning and writing. As a result they became the mediators, interpreters, writers and rewriters for the next generations of the alien colonizers. Many pandits from this culture group fled Goa fearing the aggression of the foreign religion. A comparative study of the writings of those Brahmins and of the Saraswat Brahman Christian writers would reveal the nature and scope of increasing intertextuality at various levels.(3)

Thus it was the beginning of the battle of the holy scriptures of the manuscript or oral culture in the indigenous land and those of the print culture from the distant foreign countries. Of course, both parties involved in this cultural conquest were affected in different ways. Over last twenty years the study of colonialism has generated several debates (see Trotter). We have to concede that, as David Trotter points out, "Colonial experience was, for many European men and women, a thoroughly problematic beginning." "Empire, in other words, provided one of the conditions under which men and women could be expected to use their mental and physical resources to the full" (4-8). The

European empire provided the arena for several 'dynamogenic' transformations. Critics from Said to Homi Bhabha want us to understand colonialism as a 'discourse', a 'signifying system' and a text without an author. But all this 'centrifugal' attempt on cultural 'influence' in India is always illustrated with reference to British India. The 'primal scene' of 'signs taken for wonder' from Bible, writes Bhabha (1985), was set in May 1817, outside Delhi. Exactly two hundred years before, it was originally started by the British but Catholic missionary preaching in Margao (Goa). He pioneered the work of writing the first Konkani grammar (available rept. 1540), the first catechism: Doutrin Christam em Lingoa Bramana Canarim (MS. 1622), and Treatise on the coming of the Redeemer into the world (1616) in Marathi, which was reprinted in 1649 and 1654 but banned after 1684, because it was not in the Portuguese language. In fact it was transcribed by the author from lingua Canarim to the 'Romi' (Roman) script used by the Christian missionaries. A case study of Father Stephens' (Estevao) forty-year career in Goa illustrates the early phases of 'self-reaffirming' or 'self-revalidating' colonial presence. The prime motive of the Portuguese rule was to convert all Indians to Christianity, while the Britons, to whom the Portuguese King had ceded Bombay in 1661 as a part of dowry to Charles II of England and later rented to the Hon. East India Company, always insisted on economic exploitation. Consequently, the degrees of resistance and 'ambivalance' in these two neighbouring colonies was very different from Bhabha's 'signs taken for wonder' and a 'significant system' in the rest of British India.

In the beginning of the written cultural contact with the West, the indigenous Devnagari, Modi, Kanari and other scripts in Goa were replaced by the Roman (which is that of Portuguese) new script. Goa had a rich tradition of medieval literature which not only did continue in the classical Sanskrit heritage, but also demonstrated close links with the literature in Maharashtra and other neighbouring provinces. But it was disrupted as the Portuguese fanatics destroyed not only Hindu temples and "all books written in the vernacular language" but also "intended... to exterminate all that part of population which would not soon be converted" (26). J. Cunha has compared this with similar cultural crusades in Europe and America (26, 27). It was the part

of constructing the colonial 'subject' by depriving it of it indigenous sources of inherited knowledge and culture and als by imposing new technologies of power / knowledge. Their settin up of the printing press in Goa (1556) and adoption of the Roma script were new "signs taken for wonder". As a result the nex 'sign taken for wonder' was translation which brings about th "renaissance of wonder". Even the Inquisition (1560) could nc control resistance in the form of migration which preserve indigenous forms of Goan languages and literatures. This battl of 'holy books' did not yield much literary acculturation except few translations of Latin hymns, prayers and other mino catechisms into Konkani and Marathi. These were to Sanskritised to be understood by the convert layman. It was th cross-polination of Latin and Sanskrit, the classical languages o both religions which have influenced the style and diction of th colonial Goan literatures. The ban on indigenous languages an imposition of the Portuguese in 1684 complicated the problem o cultural space in the European myth of Progress. For, the firs hundred years of this 'cultural romance' of the four hundred year long colonial drama proved how the concept of continuous literar tradition and canon is a myth.

After the first phase of amnesia, as Ganesh Devi (1992) ha illustrated with reference to the British rule in India (only), th first monumental literary work, which was originally meant fo proselytism, was the product of early strategies of representin the other compilations of grammars, catechisms and rendering of ritualistic hymns and dialogues. Tejaswini Niranjan (1994:124 has pointed out how "translation as a practice shapes, and take shape within, the symmetrical relations of power that operat under colonialism". Further, she adds: "What is at stake here i the representation of the colonized who need to be produced i such a manner as to justify colonial domination, and to beg fo the English book by themselves" (124). Here she has in mind "the English Book" of British tradition of which Lord MaCaulay boasted too much, and also rather neutral policy in religious maters of the Jewel in the Crown. But a glaring contrast is noticed in case of the demand for the Christian Puran by the new Saraswat Brahman Christians in Goa in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Father Thomas Stephens (1549-1619) writes

in the opening part of his "Treatise on the coming of Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, into the world", which later came to be known as Krist Puran (1996:24):

> Pan he doutrini vanchonee an / kahi ek agale shastrapuran
> jari ama karavite pathan / taree hote chang // (1.1.134)
>
> (Besides reading of catechism, it would be better if we are made to recite any new religious holy puran-story.)

So, the missionary composed the 'treatise' on Jesus Christ by following the models developed by saint poets from Dnyaneshwar in Maharashtrian Marathi to Krishnadasa in Goan Marathi and Konkani. He used the *Ovi* meter and fine poetic Marathi diction that some Hindu pandits doubted its authentic authorship. Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire had declared that the Catholic missionaries were "an instrument of civilization and national influence". But Krist Puran, which was written for propagating Christianity, was banned by the missionaries in Goa after 1736, because it was in the Ovi meter which was strictly prohibited both by the Portuguese and the British rulers for the purpose of "denationalization of Hindu customs" (T.B. Cunha 73-77, Patil 1999: 77-78). Its three reprints appeared after 1616 in Roman script (Goa 1649, 1654 - censured and licensed, Mangalore 1907 - with deletions.) It is interesting to note that it was transcribed into Devnagari script in 1956 and printed in Pune. Now it is edited and published with a brief introduction, letters and other critical documents, in 1996 in Mumbai by Father Karidad Drago. The original Devnagari manuscript had to be restored from the School of Oriental Studies in London. Recently, Olivinho J.F. Gomes (1998) transcribed Konkani Ramayan from the Roman manuscript in the Archives of Braga in Portugal. It was also written in the fifteenth century. The editor is so confused that he has attributed it to nobody. He has mentioned a few details on the separate title page:

> Solavya Shenkadya-adale Konkani Ramayan
> mul barovpi - anamik: (Krishnadas Shama ani sangati?)
> (Pre-sixteenth century Konkani Ramayan

Original author: (Krishnadas Shama (Krishnadas Shama an others?)

Further, he has displayed the detail that it was transcribe into the Roman script by the Christian missionaries. But th Hindu researchers have attributed some works to Krishnada Sharma who wrote Krishnacharitrakatha (A tale of Krishna life, 1526) in Marathi, and other prose works in Konkani whic are transcribed from the Roman manuscripts housed in Braga It has been reported that thirty Marathi parts of purana, perhap written by the Goan writers, were discovered by Pissurlekar P.S in 1956 (Satoskar 1975: 24-32). The medieval oral offshotts of th great classical epics, viz. the Mahabharata and the Ramayana i Indian languages are innumerable, and one such 'Godd Ramayana' (in the form of folk-songs) is transcribed from th malayalam script into Devanagari script by R.K. Rao (1989). It sub-title is 'Konkani Lokgeet' (folk songs in Konkani). Althoug it is an anonymous work, scholars have attributed it to th Saraswat Goan Brahman immigrants to Kerala after th Portuguese Inquisition in Goa in the latter half of the sixteent century.

This brings us not only to the journey of the texts from plac to place in India and abroad, but also to their transformations a the generic as well as scriptural levels. In creating these transliterated texts and subjects by the Portuguese, the transcriptions later helped the process of translation which participated in making the colonized culture static. Paradoxically transliteration also provided a 'place in history' for th convertec Indian Christians. It is obvious from the Portuguese Charters and Edicts in Goa that transliteration and translation became a part of colonial enterprise. The willing acceptance of subjection is dependent upon the presence of the hegemonic texts about the colonizer's culture. This struggle for the cultural conquest is fraught with violence and contradictory trial and errors. For example, in 1548, the Catholic Bishop Fr. D. Joada Albuquerque was still busy in search of books written in the language of 'pagans to destroy them" (T.B. Cunha, 27). On the contrary, Fr. Stephens, in a letter to Rome (1608) expressed his "desire to bring to the notice of Your Paternity the fact that for many years I have

ardently desired to see in this province some books printed in the language and in the script of the place, as was done in Malabar, with great profit for the church in that region." What was done by Stephens and other missionaries, either by translating the Hindu scriptures or by writing Christian puranas and hagiographies of the Christian saints in the Indian languages for "the great profit of the Church" at that time, has now become, to some extent, the part of our literary as well as cultural studies today. Interpreting such texts which had once helped to maintain colonial rule by showing its subjects how they could civilize them in the best possible manner.

Thus the process of destroying the Hindu texts in Indian languages also meant preserving them (to be used) secretly by transliterating them in the script4 unknown to the 'subjects'. The same texts can be used as weapons filled with the colonizer's cultural contents as superior ones. Perhaps, this is one of the reasons for disappearance of the Hindu texts transcribed into Roman script from India and their retrieval from the 'mother country' of the former invaders. Later, A. Maconochie, a scholar in the University of Edinburgh, urged the British sovereign to take steps in 1783 in such a way "as may be necessary for discovering, collecting and translating whatever is extant of the ancient works of the Hindus." He hoped that those works might help the advancement of science in Europe. William Jones also believed that translations would "serve to domesticate the Orient and thereby turn it into a province of European learning" (See Niranjan, 126-7). But the Portuguese imperialistic and religious wrath against Konkani was so vindicative that in 1731 the Inquisitor complained to the King of Portugal that the lack of new "coversions was due to the Konkani language". Although the Portuguese language was imposed before two centuries, the Viceroy of Goa complained in 1835 (the year in which English education was made compulsory in British India by MaCaulay's Minutes): "there are merely two or three among a hundred inhabitants" who can understand Portuguese (Cunha, T.B. 26,27).

The origin of Marathi and Gujarati languages is traced back to the eighteenth century. Several Goan scholars have repeatedly shown similarities between Konkani (which was much debated as a dialect of Marathi) and the pre-British writings in Marathi.

For example, Mhaibhatta's Leelacharitra (1278) - the prose wo
and Konkani Mahabharat or Konkani Ramayan of the sixteen
century (see Nayak, xi, xii; Gomes 1996: xxiii). But simi
affinities in the languages such as Gujarati, Hindi and ev
Bengali, Marathi and Konkani as used before the Europe
colonial contact can be easily traced. But what is needed is
comparative study of the history of standardisation of the
languages as a means of written literatures. Owing to the lack
such comparative perspectives the warring factions in t
language dispute in Goa seem to continue the colonial battle
puranas. For example, the editor of the pre-sixteenth centu
Konkani Ramayan, Olivinho J.F. Gomes writes in his bilingu
introduction:

> This tradition was apparently evolved from the 11
> century, when Konkani had attained adulthood as
> independent language of literary expression, with a copio
> vocabulary, turn of speech, phrase and idiom, which w
> apparently amply appropriated by Marathi writers of t
> 13th century, in the formulation of work li
> 'Dnyaneshwari' and 'Lila Charita' (Rodrigues and Chava
> which vocabulary has mysteriously disappeared from, f
> reasons unknown, but obviously intelligible now (x).

Gomes has neither substantiated his pro-Konkani positi
nor well understood the complexities involved in the litera
acculturation in two distinct neighbouring colonies. This is t
major crisis in the monoliterary or monolanguage studies in Indi

Ganesh Devi has discussed at length this "cultural amnes
which makes the average Indian intellectual incapable of traci
his tradition backwards beyond the mid-nineteenth century. A
even when traditions are traced back the sense of discriminati
in that act appears to be largely absent"(10). Comparative
Pratap Nayak (1990) has shown better understanding of the wo
of editing the oral text of the Konkani Mahabharat Adiparva.
is the mark of colingualism that he has mentioned both Marat
and Konkani in his dedication and also exhibited his intercultur
sensibility by dedicating this oral text into "Romi". Buthe h
also confused the issue of the authorship as Gomes in case
Konkani Ramayan. It will be more rewarding if these tex
containing prose tales based on the classical epics are compare

with the similar versions in the tribal dialects in Maharashtra which are explored by Durga Bhagawat, Madhukar Wakode and other folklorists. Why do the editors find too many parallels and affinities between Leelacharitr, Dnyaneshwari and few other Marathi medieval texts and their recently retrieved Konkani oral prose tales, albeit of different form and period? The linguistic similarities in them have come from the common Indo-Aryan cultural heritage and those can be interpreted in terms of orality as history. Moreover, it was the outcome of the protest against the hegemony of Sanskrit in new bhashas - languages, which emerged after the tenth century all over the Indian subcontinent.

The difference between the Goan tradition of colonial literary transactions and those in British India, for example, in Gujarati, Marathi and Kanadi of the Bombay Presidency, give rise to a number of questions. Was the tradition of translating or writing Sanskrit epics into Goan languages discontinued after sixteenth century? At least more than half a dozen Christian akhyan-kavyas[5] - long narrative poems depicting the life and works of Christ and other tales from Bible are retrieved from the archieves in Portugal in the latter half of the twentieth century (Gomes 1992, Priolkar 1959). But there is the absence of the Goan Hindu long narrative poems albeit there was a rich tradition of religious prose and poetry before the Portuguese rule. How can a simple narrative poem of not less than printed fifty poems like Ev ani Mori (Eve and Mary), first printed in Bombay in 1899 by the Society of the Blessed Sacrament of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and written by Eduardo Jose Brune de Souza in the 'Marian' script but transcribed in Devnagari in 1992, be accepted as 'the first Konkani epic'? (See Konkani Encyclopaedia I, 503). His "Sargacho thevo" (1915) and his periodical Udentechem Salak - lotus of the East (1894) published from Pune in British India are considered pioneering works in Konkani. Even first *tiatr* (drama) in Konkani was born in Bombay and the first Portuguese novel was printed in Lisbon. Why are all modern literary forms developed by the Goan writers developed outside Goa? Was British India a better colony for literary ventures than Portuguese Goa?

The list of such questions is inexhaustive. The colonization of Goa has given rise to the displaced immigrant literature which

demands a separate space for itself. For example, the sthalpu
titled Konkan Mahatmya - the greatness of Konkan in Marat
was published in *Shake* 1831 (1909). It was printed by H
Bhikahi Samant in Belgaum in his own printing press. It is
clear if Samant - a Saraswat Brahmin, himself was the auth
Similarly, several texts printed in Kerala, Karnataka and ev
Portugal can be grouped in this category. Both Luis de Camo
Portuguese epic Os Luciades and Konkani Ramayan display so
scenes set in Goa. It is one more remarkable paradox th
Francisco Luis Gomes' Os Brahmanes (1866), a 'romance', w
published in Lisbon, but set on the historical background of t
northern part of British India (see Patil 1999, b: 162-167). Ev
the costumes of the characters in a Konkani *tiatr* performed
Bombay in the nineteenth century British theatre were not Indi
because *dhoti* and *choli* (sarong for male and blouse for female
the Hindu community) were prohibited by law in Goa! This
how the Portuguese colonialism created a literary 'demoralizati
which has developed, as Devi points out, "a false sense of shar
in the minds of the colonized about their own history a
tradition" (10). The subalterns, who came in contact with t
neighbouring regions of the British colony, felt the existence
two different kinds of empires. The existence of differe
experience of the Portuguese empire resulted in part from t
"unbridgeable" racial chasm that separated these two gener
forms of colonization (Hutcheon 1995:7). The "structur
domination" that these empires represented could take ma
diverse forms in each of its political, economic, milita
intellectual and cultural manifestations". Edward Said, the maj
exponent of colonialism (1989:207) has further specified t
complexities that may inadvertently be masked by such a gener
description: "to be one of the colonized is potentially to be a gre
many different but inferior, in many different places, at ma
different times." The problem of stereotypes and mimicry in t
colonial makes additions to such complexities. It does not mea
that a post-colonialist critic should encourage a 'new Orientalism
Rosemary Jolly (1995: 17-28) argues for a post-colonial theo
written and taught from a vigilantly self-aware position th
recognized "the communality of the critical act,... its heterogenei
and reciprocity."

Here we have to take into consideration the "communality" of writing literature for proselytization and the heterogeneity of that activity. This communality of the creative act is well illustrted by the continuity of long narrative poems and epics based on Sanskrit models till nineteenth century and also on alien patterns despite British colonialism in Maharashtra. From Narendra's Rukmineeswayamwar (13th century) to Vitthala's Seetaswayamwar (17th century) there are eight epics in Marathi. Moreover, there are fifteen versions of the Mahabharat and 12 adaptations of the Ramayan in Marathi, Pali, Prakrit - the *apabhramsas* of Middle Indo-Aryan known as Maharashtri till the nineteenth century. It is a colonial paradox that the British colonizers organised a national competition for writing an epic on Raja Shivaji, the great founder of the Hindu Kingdom that successfully battled against Muslim emperors. This was the last indigenous culture group to surrender to the British invaders in 1818. Of course, it was not an opportunity for the 'natives' to construct an effective counter-discourse against the oppressive present because it was meant by the colonization to be, in Gauri Vishwanathan's (1990) famous phrase, "the mask of conquest" to wean the indigenous creative writers, especially Brahmans, from their indigenous epic traditions. This strategy of appropriation of the indigenous traditions and introducing the change desired by the colonizers was rightly stated by Father Stephens two and half hundred years ago in a letter mentioned above. But the Portuguese rulers never did encourage any literary activity in the indigenous languages. Even the theatrical entertainment was not allowed to continue after seven o'clock in the evening. That is why the growth of Goan drama is totally dwarfed. Although the British put certain restrictions in the competition of writing a poem of not more than two thousand lines on Raja Shivaji, and insisted on notusing the metres, namely the *Ovi*, the *Abhang* and *Anusthubh*, several epics were written in Sanskrit and Marathi. Mahadev Moreshwar Kunte's Raja Shivaji (1861) in Marathi is the first fragment (because it remained incomplete) of the colonial hybrid culture which reveals both the clash as well as coming to terms of two strong epic traditions. The Portuguese colony has nothing to show about Kadamba kings and Rane Rajas except a few Christian puranas in indigenous languages.

Despite undisguised antagonism against Indian languag and literatures in the early phase of the Portuguese rule in Go the missionary activities of Fr. Stephens' school deserve due cred for compilation of dictionaries, grammars, catechisms and al for writing *Puranas*, hagiographies and long narrative poems Marathi and Konkani. A.K. Priolkar (1967: 73-137; 1961) ha studied both literatures and "the terrible tribunal of the east: th Goa Inquisition" without taking an anti-colonialist stance. Afte taking a brief survey of Marathi Christian literatures of th sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he points out the mai objective as follows:

> "... It aimed at weaning away the converts from their ol faith by attacking and ridiculing forcefully the tenets Hindu religion and the Gods of the Hindu Pantheon. A effort was made to make this literature as attractive in it literary form as to compare favourably with the old Marath classics which were associated with Hinduism and whic the new literature was intended to replace (78)."

This complex process of translating the Bible's content int various indigenous literary forms establishes what Bhabha (1985 calls 'partial knowledges' through a kind of splitting and doublin that undermines the authority of colonialist discourse. Th resultant hybrid text reveals its problematic relationship wit the truth value of both the Hindu tales and white man's book Although Father Stephens came out with unbound praise fo Marathi language, he could not resist the temptation to ridicul and attack Hindu Gods and Goddesses. His successor, who wrot 'Dissertation on the life of the apostle St Peter' (1634), Fr. Etienn de La Croix (1579-1643) imagines St. Peter as preachin eloquently the people of Western India to abandon thei traditional hundreds of gods. He ridicules the stories of thes false Hindu deities. This *purana* is divided into three parts whic contain about 1200 *ovis*. In several aspects it is very inferior t Fr. Stephens' Krist Puran, but comparatively more realisti picture of 'the contemporary social conditions, and in particular of the Hindu religious belief than currrent' (Priolkar) is presented in it. Historically it is important because it displays the intertextuality of the Hindu religious classics such as Yogavasishtha, Ashwamedha, Bhagawata etc.

Fr. Antonio de Saldanha's Life of Saint Anthony (1655) and Fruits of the Life (Santo Antonichi Jivita-katha, Fruitos de Arvore de Vida respectively) consisting of the first part in the spoken prose dialect and the second in the *Ovi* form of verse in Marathi show a new phase in linguistic acculturation. While the unpublished copy of Fr. Simao Gomes' (1647-1722) Sarveshwaracha Dnyanopadesha (teaching of the Lord of all) is a Marathi prose work of about 360 pages in the Devanagari script. This is the first exception to the contemporary Christian literature in the Roman script. It was meant to be used for the Marathi speaking people of Deccan Maharashtra, i.e., out of Goa. Several references to translations and also independent Christian literature of proselytization in Marathi and Konkani are traced by Priolkar (86). Fr. Diogo Ribeiro's Explanation of Christian Doctrine (1632) is the extant manuscript in Konkani but in the Roman script. According to Priolkar, the last book in Indian language printed in the Jesuit press in Goa in the seventeenth century was Soliloquios Divinos (1660) in *lingua Bramana*. It was Padre Joao de Pedrosa's translation of Fr. Bernardino Villegas's book in Castellano language. This romance of languages and cultures of distant countries in Goa provides a new site of cultural diversity.

One significant feature of this Goan Christian literature of the first phase was that the white missionaries of different nationalities in Europe used the descriptive terms for the language and script which are identified with the higher caste in the Hindu cultural structure. Father Stephens first faced this dilemma when his manuscript of Christ Puran was presented to the censor board both in 'the Brahmin-Mahratta language and collating it with anothe written in Portuguese' (Christ Puran, 891). The title of his another work meant to teach children through a dialogue also exhibits the same caste conditioned cultural marker: Christian Doctrine in the Brahman - Kanarese Language (Doutrina Christa em Lingua Brahmana - Canarim... 1622). This cultural stereotype created a false image that all Indian literature is in a way Brahminical (as Meenakshi Mukherjee describes it by using the religious term 'twice-born'). Thus Goan literature and its history of the colonial period, in Ranjit Guha's 91992:1) terms, "has for a long time been dominated by elitism - colonialist

elitism and bourgeois nationalist elitism". Elitist historiograp of this counts Portuguese writers and institutions among i primal protagonists and their Brahman imitators play significant role in making that literacy history. It is one of th apparent paradoxes of this field, as Alan Lawson and Chris Tiff (1994:230) point out at the conclusion of De-Scribing Empir Postcolonialism and Textuality, that "post-colonialism is ofte seen to attempt to construct and analyse colonialism as a overarching, transhistorical practice, whereas at all levels i constitutive marker is one of heterogeneity." So our reading these *puranas* and Romanized Konkani epics and their cultur analysis must be grounded in a hermeneutics of difference.

My study seeks to "identify, valorize, and empowe whatcolonialist discourses (both domestic and alien) label 'th barbarous, the primitive, the provincial'." This 'difference', which in Portuguese colonialist discourses connoted a remove fro normative European practice, became so distanced that the us of Goan languages was totally banned in Churches and school It was a folly to expect "that Portuguese would replace the spoke medium in all strata of the society." (Priolkar, 89). The practic of reading passages from the Marathi Christian puranas in th churches of Goa ceased in 1776, and no books in Goan language were printed for the next two hundred years. Time has take revenge in such a way that the Portuguese language and literatur has disappeared after the liberation of Goa, and its cultural plac is occupied by the 'global English'. Moreover, the manuscripts i the Roman script housed in the archives in Portugal and othe Western countries are being retrieved with new revivalisti interest. The colonial texts are frogmarched in the movement and debates. So it is better to speak from the position of a comparatist in post-colonial era.

The process of transliteration reveals not only the linguisti problems as all scholars in this field have illustrated in their edite works, but also several issues involved in the reception of the specific text in an alien culture. The complications in selection omissions and transformations do matter much more when the oral text is transcribed into Roman script. This field of 'textuality and its investment in reproducing and naturalising the structure of power can be explained more systematically if these colonia

texts are juxtaposed for comparisons. The following texts are selected at random. But they show at the end of the twentieth century how there is a growing awareness of the lines between cultures, the division and differences of castes that not only allow us to discriminate one culture from another, but also enable us to see the extent to which cultures are made structures of authority. Some texts show how the alien receptors are benevolent in what they include and lack benevolence in what they exclude. Of course, all these texts exhibit the cultural aspiration to sovereignty. Paradoxically, they show how oddly hybrid and strange are our experiences of the colonial literary culture are! They are far from unitary and monolithic. As they belong to the past in which we exclude 'unwanted elements, vestiges and narratives', as Said has pointed out (16). This point is well illustrated by Stephens' very first text of proselytization in the form of purana as the counter-discourse to Hindu indoctrination.

"Fr. Stephens' Christ Puran", wrote Francis Vieira, Provincial of the Society of Jesus for the Province of Goa, "has been examined and approved by some learned and competent members of our society; in testimony whereof I give this letter under my hand. Given at Goa on the 22nd June, 1615 - Francisco Vieira." (892) Written as it is in the name of the Jesuit Father and the author, this text of the civilizing mission suggests the triumph of the colonialist moment, early Portuguese Catholicism and modern Marathi literature. The very first Christ Puran in the elitist 'Brahmin-Mahratta language' installs, what Bhabha (1988 rpt.31) calls, 'the sign of appropriate representation: the word of God, truth, art creates the conditions for a beginning, a practice of history, and narrative.' What he writes of this colonial universalist dominant discourse, which reimplicates the signs of cultural difference 'within the deferential relations of colonial power-hierarchy, normalization, marginalisation, and so forth' is applicable to two contemporary *Puranas* in the spoken dialects transcribed in two different scripts, one alien and the other indigenous. Both the texts are without the 'signs' or 'marks' of authority; but both were transcribed in the mid-sixteenth century. We may look at the anonymous text of the Konkani Mahabharat: Adiparva transcribed into Roman script as the act of 'silent repression of native tradition'.

On the contrary, the survival of Godde Ramayan in Konka language but in the sixteenth century Malayalam script in Kera displays the act of resistance against colonial 'deformation a displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination.' Bo these texts are based on the Indian classical lore, the ri traditions of *puranas* and long narrative poems. Mahabhara adiparva is in prose but exhibits several feature of orature. the process of its transcription into the Roman script its poet structure was lost. Both the Konkani Mahabharat: adiparva ar Ramayan are in the form of prose tales. They are not on Romanised, but also contaminated in the process of the beginnin of westernization of the indigenous literature. Christ Puran als shows how hybridity is 'the sign of the productivity of coloni power'.

Both Christ Puran and Godde Ramayan open with salien features of the Indian convention of puran tradition: *naman* salutation, *mangalcharan* - prayer, *devstuti* - praise of deva *santstuti* - praise of great saints, begging for the divine help t complete the holy book, and humble request to the readers. F Stephens has devoted 181 *ovis* for this formality. Sinc Christianity is monotheistic, he writes:

Om namo Viswabharita / deva bapa sarv-samartha /
Parmeshwara satyawanta / swarg prathwicha rachanara
// 1/ /

Stephens has Indianized Bible very sincerely; but is should als be noted here that this mimesis and repetition was intended t subvert the authority of the Hindu scriptures. In a way, it was a performance text to be read loudly in the Churches and interpreted to the 'new' Hindu Christians. Consequently, its comparison with the indigenous Hindu texts was implied in it The theory of intertextuality insists that imitation must be seen as a theory 'not only of writing but also of regarding as a performative act of criticism and interpretation' (Still and Worton Intr. 7). We have to take into consideration the colonial contexts of the beginning of literary interculturalism and trace its relevance in the multiculturalism today. So we need a broad definition of the text and study its wide range of intertexts as suggested by Michael Worton and Judith Still, 1990: Intr.2):

'Both axes of intertextuality, texts entering via authors

(who are, first, readers) and texts entering via readers (co-producers), are, we would argue, emotionally and politically charged; the object of an act of influence, whether by a powerful figure (say, a father) or by a social structure (say, the Church), does not receive or percieve that pressure as neutral... Recent work has, however, returned to the erotic and violent aspect of (the bearers of) intertextual relations.'

It would be a lengthy task to survey all or even major samples of intertextuality which display the battles of indigenous and alien elements in Christ Puran. In contrast to this, Godde Ramayan exhibits less and homogenous intertextuality. It contains one hundred seventy six stanzas, and each stanza of eight lines - octave. All lines have the same monotonous ending rhyme of the letter: ga - a form of address. In the first two stanzas numerically there are 13 salutations to gods, goddesses, father, mother, teacher etc. It opens as follows:

'Om namo Ganendra Parvati nandan ga
Choudayi vidhyache swami tumi gajanan ga
Dusare naman karu guruche charanee ga...

(O Ganendra, the son of Parvati, the master of fourteen arts, wisdom and knowledge, you Gajanan, I salute you. Second salutation is at the feet of the teacher, listen O listeners...)

In fact the opening prayer-song of two stanzas in Sanskritized Marathi reveals that this is not merely a collection of 'Konkani folk songs' as its first authentic editor R.K. Rao suggests, but it is a performance text of the folk drama which shows a number of affinities to the Tanjavari Marathi drama of the seventeenth century. It is a popular dramatic convention in India to salute and pray Lord Ganesh at the outset of the performance. The Goan dashavatari (ten incarnations of God) plays should be compared with this text. I remembered similar oral folk-Ramayan sung as well as acted out in my village in the 1950s, but the text does not exist. The prose dialogues were insets. The last line of the third stanza in the present text clearly states: 'at that time both of them (parents) say to Shrawan'. All songs, except the first two, are in Konkani dialect. The plain narrative is used to summarise the outline of the action-plot already known to the audience. The work is imitative of the popular epic. There are least variations.

In contrast to the above discussed openings of two texts, th opening of Konkani Mahabharat Adiparva does not have an salutation or prayer in its beginning. The first tale starts directl with a reference to its location, characters and action:

'Astanpur namv nagar tethim santan chakravarti rav raj kari. Tya rayache striyek nanv Ganga...(1)' - Pailee katha (There was a city called Hatinapur. The emperor ruled th kingdom. The name of that king's wife was Ganga... (1)' First tale.)

This is the basic structure of a folk tale without the ritualisti opening in the *pauranic* style. The secular prose tales do open i this manner. The paratexts of the footnotes added by Prata Nayak reveal that Latin comments and notes are written by th priest in the margin, but they are meant to explain culture specifi vocabulary and contexts. All the eighteen tales are linked witl each other in a series. But all of them have distinct closed endings Although the popular formula: 'this story was told by Indra t Jalmajya' is repeated, most of the endings include a brief dialogu which suggests the threads of the next text to be woven. In th final one we come to know that some tales are based on the Skand Puran. So the problem of cultural interference in the change o the *pauranic* structure remains unsolved. Moreover, the edito has pointed out a difference in the opening of the tales no. 2, 5 8 and 18. They are in Marathi *slok*-verses which are changed by the narrator into Konkani. The names of the narrator o transcriber are not mentioned. Many medieval narrators of tales have mentioned their patrons as well as their own names. Perhaps it was part of the trauma of the beginning of confining the ora colonial text without an author to the alien Roman script. But we should not lose sight of Edward Said's (1993:16) observations regarding the European Crusader chronicles. He states, "Since Greek writers themselves openly acknowledged their culture's hybrid past, European philologists acquired the ideological habit of passing over these embarrassing passages without comment in the interest of Attic purity." The investigation of the cultural and literary competence of the missionaries and Indian mediators is a different topic of research.

This leads us to the discussion of the confusion in the generic indentification in this cultural battle in which texts are not only

created as a part of specific movement; but some distantly related texts are frogmarched or 'passed over' and some are reintroduced ina new dress and title. All the samples discussed above seem to have met with both good literary fortune and misfortune also. Their generic titles and even some parts of structure and contents have faced mutilation. Some of the titles seem misnomers today. All the three texts reprinted in the postcolonial India have become now what Johann Wolfgang von Goethe described as 'world literature'. What was originally titled Christ Puran is taught as an Indian Marathi Christian 'epic'. What are oral folk tales based on the great Indian epics in Sanskrit are not frogmarched in Konkani as Konkani Ramayan and Konkani Mahabharat Adiparva. What was the text of folk drama is reprinted as Godde Ramayan (Konkani folk songs). Thus the sixteenth century products of the cross-cultural encounters in Goa are revisiting us in the post-modern era to make new additions to neo-colonial contradictions in our literary culture. This shows how time has come to study literary forms as hybrid cultural forms and reconnect this analysis with the sixteenth century actuality in clash of strong multilingual Indian oral tradition and European superiority symbolized by the triumph of tyopgraphy and technology of a written word. It was Fr. Stephens who wrote in a letter, "You find hardly any piece of writing except on its leaves. Many are the languages of these places..." (as quoted by S.G. Malshe, 11). Godde Ramayan was deciphered from such palm leaves. This palimpsest provides solid grounds for comparisons of the colonial cross-pollination in 'the national culture.'

In the language dispute, Christ Puran is claimed by both the rival groups. But Thomas Stephens, who had takenhis degree from Oxford (1577) and taught at Salsette college in Goa, preached Christian doctrines to the 'new' converts and written the grammar of Marathi in Portuguese and Doutrina Crista - a dialogue, in Goan spoken Konkani, thoughtfully chose Marathi as a medium of expression for his Christ Puran. It is the language of literary culture of not only Goa but the big Maratha empire in the Western and Southern parts of India. Marathi speaking population is certainly more than those who speak any European language in their country. The models of *puranas* which he selected are mostly from Marathi. He not only Marathicized tales from the Bible, but

called himself Kristdas - the servant of Christ, to place himself the rank and file of Marathi medieval poets such as Krishnad Vishnudas etc. The paratexts such as subtitles of two parts, vi first and second *puran* containing respectively 4181 and 6871 10962) ovis, show how it is bigger than Dnyaneshwari. The latt is one of the first interpretations of the Bhagawad Geeta in t Prakrit bhasha - language traditions in India. He was ambitio to emulate it. Christ Puran was clearly meant to replace t Brahminical *puranas*. He does not show any awareness of t classical epics in Sanskrit, and yet our editors blindly label it 'epic'. Its original generic title was 'Discurso sobre a Vinda Jesus Christo Nosso Salvador do Mundo'. Its choice of meter simple ovi - two rhythmical lines with ending rhymes. This is t most popular poetic structure of the folk poetics which was lat banned by European rulers on religious grounds.

Such colonial paradoxes point out the effects of violence the texts confined to the script. Stephens acquired great maste of linguistics, literary and cultural competence to translate an transfer two different culture specific concepts in the days whe Marathi was not taught in the schools and Konkani was only the spoken form. The manuscript culture of both the indigenou languages was limited to the Brahman learned few of tha minority subculture group. The first Marathi primary school wa opened in Goa by the Portuguese administrators in 1887, becaus the educators revealed in their report in 1869 that such schoo were very popular in the neighbouring villages like Shirod belonging to the British colony. They recommended to teac Portuguese through Marathi, because they did not get student for the Portuguese medium schools (B.B. Samvardekar, 76-79 Konkani was instituted only after liberation of Goa. Under suc circumstances two oral offshoots of the Indian classical epics wer bound to be fragmentary and had to survive anonymously in th alien scripts. These samples illustrate what Goethe suggested i his "Notes on World Literature" (1830). The Indian tradition o indigenous literary forms was disrupted more in Goa under th Portuguese possession and 'through terrible wars'. What moder Goan literature we have today is not the continuation of the battl of puranas in the real sense of the term, but the product of Britis impact on Goa. Its real centre was British Bombay (see Shenoy

Goembab, 80). Goan Portuguese has not acquird any distinct identity, and may not survive in the next century. A few texts have historical significance but are discussed elsewhere (Patil 1998, 1999).

Our three samples can be read as illustrations of the politics of representation and in Jenny Sharpe's words, "its traces in our academic practice" (99). The institutionalization of Christ Puran as a counter-discourse of the dominant narrative was intended to "show the natives being freed from the despotic rule, raised from their ignorance, and saved from cruel and barbarous practices" (100). It is well planned, complete in itself and despite some odds it has undergone half a dozen reprints and has got many sympathetic Hindu interpreters. He had ended it with conventional prayers and thanks. Moreover, he had stated the importance of his *Puran* for salvation of man. His comments on the creative process itself provide glimpses of intertextuality. He says that he has created this book by "mixing the Marathi language" (2.118). When missionaries imitated Sanskritized forms of Indian languages as they had some competence of Latin and Greek, Stephens was Konkanising Marathi for the common readers / listeners. His modesty is again and again revealed in the text. It becomes the 'native' mythological convention. He says it in the final couplet"

> Aisi kathechi vitpati / aika je sangitale alpamati /
> Tem Kristdasu kari vinanti / kshama kije adnyanathem /
> (This is how the tale originated. Please listen to what is narrated according to the limited talent. Christdas requests you to pardon him for his ignorance (123).

As we now turn to the rediscovered manuscripts of those native writers who were driven out of Goa by fear of aggressionand of those who experienced the first phase of the Inquisition, we find that most of these manuscripts in alien scripts are incompete. Godde Ramayan has been retrieved from the Malayalam script. It follows some selective patterns from Valmiki Ramayan, but opens abruptly with the tale of Shrawan, then narrates the major events in Rama's life in six cantoes which end abruptly with reference to the ongoing war in Sri Lanka (Ceylon).

'Yudhakandam apurnam' (124)

'The tale of war is incomplete.' (124)

Goan researchers have explored 30 Marathi poems of 567 pages containing 13,000 ovis which narate the tales from the Ramayana and Mahabharata in the Roman script. Its first 131 pages narrate the life of Lord Krishna. This long narrative poem in 3123 ovis was written by Krishnadas Shama and many other by Vishnudas. More than half a dozen Hindu names of writers are mentioned but not identified at all (Nayak, vii, viii). The manuscript collection No 772 in the archieves of Braga consists the prose tales from the Indian epics. Out of total 453 pages Pratap Nayak has identified fifteen sections of the Ramayana and two of the Mahabharata on which the tales are based. There are some loose tales also. Vishnudas and Valmiki are only two names mentioned in some tales. Many of these works are incomplete. Pratap Nayak traced the tales of Mahabharat Adiparva from the manuscript no. 771. In its ten sections which include 69 Konkani tales, he transcribed only 18 tales for his collection. Other tales might be in Marathi. As long as all the manuscripts in the Roman scipt are not transcribed into the Devnagari script, the picture of already silenced subaltern voices will not become clear. The other stories of an East-West encounter still lie hidden in the record rooms of the manuscripts in the archieves of several European countries. Exploring them is just the beginning of tracing the sources of the eclipsed story of battle of books as a part of the European civilizing mission.

In the middle of the present century a good beginning was made by A.K. Priolkar who concluded the seventh chapter of his exploratory research work titled Goa Rediscovered, with a note of limited new 'critical awareness'. He writes with modesty:

> "...It is to be expected that with the present growing awareness of his cultural background, the Indian Christian in Maharashtra will soon find himself adequately equipped to turn toit for religious inspiration. But it should also prove of great interest on other than religious considerations... Our study of old Marathi literature must necessarily remain incomplete until this Christian literature is also brought within its scope. And for the student of the development of Marathi language and its dialects this literature should provide rich material for incomparable worth (90)."

Such humanitarianism or universalim of the older generation of our post-independence scholars falls short in explaining contrapuntally what Jenny Sharpe illustrates as 'certain problems with identifying sites of colonial resistance (99)'. Let us conclude this battle of the *puranas* with her very revealing story of a 'scrap paper' which she explored in the India Office Library in London. It will help us in the next century to reinterpret such documents with new critical awareness of which she writes at the outset of her article:

> "In the absence of a critical awareness of colonialsm's ideological effects, readings of counter-discourses can all too easily serve an institutional function of securing the dominant narratives."

This 'new' critical awareness dawned upon her when she discovered that 'used scrap of paper' that contains, in the hand of a British judicial officer F.J. Shore, the draft of a letter to the editor of the India Gazette... (101) Shore had parodied Macaulay's 1835 minutes in it through the dialogue of two Bengalis. He argued that the English would benefit from learning Bengali. We have already quoted similar letter by Fr. Stephens and also the educational report in which a desire to teach the Portuguese language through Goan languages was expressed. Here the similarity in two distinct discourses in two neighbouring colonies, although the gulf of two centuries separates them, is not coincidental. The problem of privileging racial purity and superiority is closely linked to all sorts of colonialism - alien or domestic. For critical awareness of it in our most multicultural situation Sharpe's research experience provides a good model. In her attempt at identifying the 'figures of colonial resistance' in the 'scrap of paper', she read 'the class and caste determinants of colonial as well as postcolonial relations...' (99). She has narrated that epiphany as follows:

> "The initial triumph with which I discovered Shore's scribbled letter has since been quelled by the sobering reminder that the binary opposition between colonizer and colonized is not easily reversed; the entire power structure of colonialism itself stands in a way of such an improbable exchange. The impossibility of a reversal is made even more visible in the light of the probability that this native work

of fiction originated from a European. It is more than likel that Shore himself invented the dialogue as evidence of native desire for vernacular education. Here we see th colonizer disguising himself to caste off his robe o Lancashire broadcloth (101)."

And hence this reading of the doubly transcribed colonia texts as an unending cultural battle of books in 'the house of Worl Literature'.

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Notes

1. Goa is the smallest state in India. Its population is only 11,00,000. It was under Portuguese rule from 1510 to 1961.

2. See Andrew Kolaso, ed. Christpuranache Antarang (Vasai: Father Stephens Academy, 1995: n.p.) Cf. A letter as quoted in Martin Leer. "Europe, the Orient and the New World: Conceptual Geography and Historical Cosmology 1492-1992". Kunappi 14-2 (1992): 22-34. The witness to the events of 1492 wrote in a letter to his employers how "on the second day of January, I saw the royal banner of Your Highness raised, by force of arts, on the terms of the Alhambra... and, thereafter, in that same month... Your Highness, as Catholic Christians and... foes of the sect of Muhmed and of all idolatries and heresies, thought of sending me, Christopher Columbus, to the regions of India..." (22)

3. J. Gerson da Cuna. Konkani Language and Literature. New Delhi. Asian Educational Services, 1991. He observes, "One of the most difficult and noble enterprises of the Portuguese in India was to convert to Christianity the high class Brahmins, and, when converted, to employ them as missionaries" (49-50). There were two religious orders into which only the converted Brahmins were admitted, to the exclusion of other classes. They were sent to the province of Kanada and Ceylon where they created literature in Tamil, Sinhalese and other languages. For example: Jacome

Gonsalves, Peria Puranam or 'History of the Bible', Sinna Puranam or 'A Compendium', Sugurta Darpanam or 'The lives of Saints', Gabriel Pacheco, Devasprasayan or "The History of People of God', The Life of Venerable Joseph Vaz. Sebastiao do Rego (another Brahmin oratorian) wrote Vaz's biography in Porguguese in 1744 in Lisbon, and its second edition in Goa in 1867.

4. See Anant Kakba Priolkar, Goa Re-discovered, Mumbai: Bhatkal Books International, 1967. "A remarkable feature of the Christian Marathi literature of this period is that it is uniformly written in the Roman script. It was unusual at this time to use the Devanagari or Kannada script for writing Marathi" (78). According to him, the convenience of printing, the desire to keep the new converts immune to the influences of Hindu literature and belief of the European missionaries that "existing Muhammedan and Hindu literature will gradually sink into disuse, with exception of such portions of it as are worthy of being turned into the new letters" (79) are the main reasons for Romanization of Indian literature.

   V. B. Prabhudesai, ed. Wanmalyacha Mala, Nagpur: Nagpur University, 1974 has also discussed this issue at length by quoting several documents: "It has been remarked by most observant teachers of native boys, that those who have learned to read English think and speak on religious subjects, in that language, what they are not, cannot, think and speak in their own" as quoted from Monier Williams. Original Papers Illustrating the History of the Application of the Roman Alphabet to the Languages of India. London: 1859, 165-166. J. Knowles. Our Duty to India and Indian Illiterates. London: 1910, is also written in support of the Roman script.

5. The trend of narrating the life of Jesus Christ through verse or prose patterned on Hindu puranas was very strong. See Priolkar, 1967, 86-90; V.B. Prabhudesai, 1990.

6. I have translated all Marathi and Konkani quotations into English. "O God. Maker of the universe I salute You, God, the Father, all powerful truthful Lord / the architect of heaven and earth / 1 /

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Ecotheological Dimensions of Termite Hill

NANDKUMAR KAMAT

ECOLOGY is most fundamental to the survival of human cultures and populations. Ecological resources are exploited by humans for creation of an artificial hierarchy of eco-systems. Technologies are evolved for efficient transfer of ecological resources. During this course of material and technological evolution symbols, motifs are absorbed; rituals are formulated, cults emerge through common symbols and rituals; gods and goddesses; demons and devils; spirits and angels assume forms and shapes and religious systems befitting the levels of technology get rooted.

Magic is related to technology. Primitive agricultural and fertility magic could be considered as monopolised knowledge of stagnated, unevolved or dynamic technology depending upon the ecological specificity of each culture.

The common determinants of ecological specificity of any region are soil and climate.[1] The ecological dimensions of historical theology have to be examined from these common determinants.

In this regard, the cults of earth-mother worship as found in South Konkan and Goa, could be test cases. Scientific elucidation of these cults and demystification of various beliefs, legends and rituals associated with them is necessary to find the true meaning of several historical phenomena. As A.C. Spawlding says, "*historians depend on a type of explanation that they claim is different from scientific explanation. While in fact, no separate form of historical explanation exists.*"[2]

Many quasi and pseudo-historical forms of explanations[3] exist for the cult of Santeri, Ravalnatha, Skanda-Kartikeya,

Subhramanya and Muruga, Renuka, Parashurama and Yellamma, Jyotiba, Khandoba and Durga[4]. Mostly these are propagated through brahminic literature and sometimes through the folklore. In the ultimate analysis, every explanation is reduced to the two basic principles - the male and the female. Cults related to the worship of 'Roen' or termite hill embodied both these principles symbolically. The 'Roen', known as 'Santara' (with perforations or 'Valmika' in Sanskrit, 'Pottu' in Tamil, 'Varul' in Marathi, 'Bhom' or 'Bhombada' in Malvani or Kudali thus became the focal point of origin of cults such as Santeri-Ravalnath, Jyotiba-Yamai, Renuka-Kedarnath, Yellama-Adimailar and inspired amalgamation of many Saivite cults.[5]

The Ecological Magic of *Roen*

Absorbed by Konkani, *Roen* is originally a mundari word according to Anand Dhume, denoting the natural form of the ant or termite-hill.[6-7] From the paleolithic period cave art, the use of natural symbols and forms by primitive man could be pinpointed. Forms matching the termite-hill have not been reported from the wall painting of caves of Bhimbetka Complex of Madhya-Pradesh[8], a region closer to the original home of the primitive settlers of Goa - the Kols. The cave complex which is dated from 30,000 B.P. - 4000 B.P. indicates that the magico-religious aspects of the termite-hill did not so much impress the hunter food-gatherers of pre-historic ages. The magico-religious aspects of termite-hill are manifested not only through the pyramidal, conical, triangular form of its architecture but also through its origin from soil. To the hunter food-gatherer tribes origin of termite-hill, their expansion, multiplication without any visible external interference or agency, their property to withstand sun, wind and rain, their seemingly ageless nature was a supreme ecological magic. However, it found expression only after formation of some stable societies in region dominated by the termite-hills. Geographically, this region is mostly the sub-Himalayan region of India. Within this region, the mound-building termites are dominant only in South India[9] - a characteristic of the ecological determinants - soil and climate.

Termite-hill Association with Fertility Cult

The primitive fertility cult was based on the fertility of the soil. Since agriculture was a discovery of women, food gathering and cultivation was done by them. They wielded immense power as tillers of the earth and came to be regarded as depositories of agricultural magic. The essence of this magic consisted in linking up their fertility with that of the earth.[10] This could be accomplished through selection of a natural form like termite-hill. The termite-hill, the Roen, thus became the divine cult symbol of earth-mother goddess. This association must have occurred during the pre-agricultural period. The cult of Santeri in Goa thus dates back to the neolithic period. It is pertinent to record here the ritual of '*Mage Parab*' festival of mundaris. After lighting the fire during '*holi*', the chiefs and other important clan members visit a termite hill and cover it with tree branches. According to Anant Dhume, this ritual was retained by Kols of Goa. The Kol tribe introduced the worship of *Santer* in Goa and the worshippers were known to be called as *Santerkars* or *Satarkars*.[11]

The Goan landscape is saturated with termite-hills. Their density was more during ancient times. Termite-hills, specially the largest and oldest near a settlement or village thus became the centre of ritualistic worship. A survey of the Santeri temples or centres of Santeri worship of pre-Portuguese period[12] shows that the cult of Santeri is most dominant cult of Goa. Interestingly it has many similarities with termite-hill associated cults of neighbouring states. The major centres of these cults are Alampur and Nagarjunkonda in Andhra Pradesh; Siddankotte, Sangameshwar, Vyaghreshwari in Karnataka and Ter, Mahurzari and Bhokardan in Maharashtra.[13]

The Sanctity of the Termite-hill Soil

The termite-hill soil is identified as one of the five holy soils used for *yadnas*. In Shatapatha Brahmanas (1.1.1.17), the earth gifts the termite-hill soil to the sky as the female ovum, while the sky gifts salt to the earth as semen.[14] The termite-hill is believed to contain the seed of protector gods as per another legend. In the South newly married women worship the termite-hill and the

soil is brought as *prasada*[15]. There is a belief that termite-hill soil has conception powers. At the Subhramanya temple in South Kanara, the main priest on the day of *Skandashasthi* or *Nagashashti* wears a leather glove and removes the termite soil which is distributed as *prasada*. The soil is known as '*Mool-Mrootika*'.[16]

These beliefs have originated from the fertility cult which considered the termite-hill as vagina or womb of the earth-goddess. Naturally, the complimentary male principle of the inseminating god co-evolved in the form of snake or serpent and came to be associated with the cults of termite-hill worship.

Termite-hill Cults and Naga Worship

Contrary to popular beliefs only discarded or destroyed termite hills occassionally shelter snakes. No snake can enter an intact, unperforated, live termite mound, protected by thousands of solder termites with paralysing stings.[17] Still snakes or nagas have come to be associated with termite-hills and related cults. The anthropomorphic forms of snakes have come to be worshipped in Goa. The snake-symbols have evolved as iconic protector gods or '*Kshetra patis*' in South India.[18] In Goa they assume the form of Ravalnatha or Bhairava. In Maharashtra, Jyotiba or Khandoba. In Karnataka they are worshipped as Subhramanya. In Tamil Nadu Murugan is their representation. In Bellari, Karnataka, it is '*Manmaillar*' or '*Mannu-Mailar*' still in the form of termite-hill. Similarly, at Jejuri in Maharashtra, the 'Adimailar' shows the association of sacred serpent or the male-principle in the form of termite-hill.

The association is further symbolized through ceremonious marriage. In Vengurla, Santeri weds Ravalnatha. At Chandagadh near Belgaum, Ravalnatha weds Pavanai. Such ritualistic and symbolic marriages are known to signify an important historical phase in evolution of cults.[19]

Evolution and Sanskritisation of the Termite-hill Cults

The ritualistic worship of the *Roen* in Goa as fertility symbo continued in its natural form till the advent of powerful Arya influence in the South. The process of Sanskritization must hav been accelerated with the development of trade routes and expansion of coastal navigation. Intensive interaction with th neighbouring regions resulted in import and assimilation of many ideas.[20] The incorporation of the name 'Santeri' derived from th Sanskrit word "Santara" was one such for termite-hill or *Roen*.[2 The popularity of termite-hill cults led to composition of many myths and legends in Sanskrit literature. The folk-deities found their way in Ramayana and Mahabharata. The earth-goddess Renuka, became the mother of Parashurama and wife of Jamadagni. It is interesting to see that on Jamadagni's orders obedient Parashurama decapacited Renuka.[22] A symbolic representation of subjugation of ethnic earth-goddess worshippers. Her original form is still found intact as Yellamma. The Madiga caste is tradtional worshipper of Yellamma. The Madigas and their folk-singers Bavnids sing glories of Parashurama, Yellamma and Renuka in Karnataka.[23] In Goa, the only true folk-art form related to the fertility cult, similar to 'Gondhal' in Maharashtra and 'Bhootnritya' in coastal Karnataka seems to be "Perni Jagor", now almost extinct.[24]

A chronological sequence of transition of termite-hill related folk-deities into brahminic forms may be difficult to construct. However, this transition could be shown to have occurred after the Satvahanas rule. The popularity of Skanda Kartikeya cult during 4th-5th century A.D. is related to this transition. The cult of *Dúrga* and her representation as *Mahishasurmardini* wa a natural outcome of the interaction with the Gupta empire. The Bhojas and the Chalukyas accelerated the process and during the Kadamba rule tantric influences held their sway resulting in forms like Kali and Chamunda. The original form of Santeri differentiated in various goddesses of the Saivite and Natha sects. The strong brahminic influence, the tradition of royal land grants to priest-class as agrahars further consolidated their position dominant over the traditional village communities or

'*Gramasaunsthas*'. With the advent of Saraswat clans during the Shilahar and Kadamba regimes, the fold-deities were relegated to a minor position. The major centres of Santeri worship were assimilated by the new settlers. Santeri thus assumed the new form of Shantadurga. Myths and legends were created to glorify her theogony.[25]

The Naga or serpent worship in Goa was similarly influenced. Anthropomorphic sculptures were probably worshipped by the Sendrakas of nearby Banavasi region who traced their origin to '*Phanindra*' or 'five-hooded serpent'[26]. The sculptures of Talavali and Cudnem show Gupta-Kushana influence stylistically. Women desiring child used to offer Nagar carved on stone - or *Nagakalas*.[27] Such *Nagakalas* are prominently found in many temples in Goa. The Tambdi Surla temple, a pre-historic and megalithic site contains two *Nagakalas* carried in basaltic slabs signifying '*Subramanya*' and the importance of13th century fertility cult.[28]

The male principle, worshipped as phallic form or *linga*, found popular representation in Goa. Saptakotishwara, Nagnatha, Manganatha, Mallikarjuna were derivations of the cult of Naga worship, related to the earth-mother goddess - Santeri, but later influenced by the brahminic andpuranic modes dominant under various dynasties.

Despite powerful vedic, brahminic and puranic influences, the folk-deity Santeri has retained its original aniconic form at many places of worship in Goa. The goddess is represented in mask form fixed on a vessel of copper and brass. At Dhargal and Keri-Ponda, two metre high live termite-hills are still worshipped as Santeri. One of the largest temples of Santeri existed at Sancoale, which was destroyed in 1567. A similar temple at a place called Sandelva or Sandival in Curtorim was burnt[29] down in 1560. Since Santeri is an aniconic deity the destruction of temples did not break the tradition. New large termite hills immediately became the abode of Santeri.

The Hidden Aspect of Ecological Magic

There is a scientific explanation of the fertility aspect of the termite hills.[30] The termite hills are built by termites over a period of 2-3 years. Termites are social insects having different classes

and a system of division of labour. Only the termites o Macrotermitinae sub-family build massive overground mounds hills. Each hill has many compartments where the termites store their food. This food is composed of plant matter. The termites grow a type of fungus called Termitomyces over this food-pile The fungus grows on the pile and makes its digestion easier for the termites. After rains the fungus grows very fast. The walnut shaped mass inside each compartment shows growth of smal needles. The needles grow further through the soil. they look like small serpents, with bulbous hoods. After penetrating the roof the snake-like objects grow further through the soil. After penetrating the roof the snake-like objects grow further. At this stage they look like erect phalluses or hooded snakes. After a few days the growth is complete. A beautiful umbrella like object with a cylindrical support and a ring is seen. It gives a fruity smell This is the well known 'Termitomyces' mushroom.

It could be shown that at hunting-food gathering stage the food-value of these mushrooms had been discovered.[31] The food-generating capacity of the termite-hill, after insemination by rains, was considered as fertility magic by the women-Shamans. Further, the food-piles, if a termite hill is excavated or destroyed, look like animal-brains. For a hunting community, the association was not difficult. Termite-hill thus became a cult-symbol and the snake-like forms, white at the top and black underneath, the immature or pseudo rhizal stage of Termitomyces mushrooms were transformed into Kshetrapala gods - the consorts of Santeri, Renuka and Yellamma.

The origin of all phallic shaped forms associated with the cults of termite-hill worship thus have to be related to specific stages of Termitomyces mushroom-life cycle.[32] This explains the origin of '*lingadevas*' and '*stambhadevas*' devoid of *yonis/pithas* or *shalunkas* found in South Konkan, Goa and Canara. These forms do not follow the sylistic features suggested by Varahamihira or the Puranas.[33]

The '*Nagakashtha*' is one of the chief emblems of cult of Santeri, Renuka and Yellamma. It is carried by the Matangis in Karnataka and by the Gauravas in Goa. The '*tarangas*' are '*Nagakashtas*' of Santeri and Ravalnatha, which are taken in a procession[34]. The origin of '*Nagakashtha*' could be traced to the

snake-like objects emerging from the womb of the earth-goddess the *Roen*/Santeri.

The five-hooded serpent could be just a bunch of immature *Termitomyces* mushrooms emerging from the surface of the termite hill. This is a commonplace observation[35] exploited religiously by the priest-class in South Canara and other places. In the Subhramanya temple the main priest has to wear a leather glove to remove '*Moolmrutika*' which is nothing but part of fungal-comb inside the hill. The leather glove gives protection from stinging bites of soldier termites.

The legend of discovery of Umbrella[36] by Jamdagni is also related to copying of the umbrella form of a mature *Termitomyces* mushroom. The largest *Termitomyces* mushroom has a diameter of one metre, larger than modern umbrella. There is no similar form in nature which may inspire discovery of an umbrella. In this regard, it is pertinent to record the experience of the Bengalese tribes. They named the mushrooms growing on Termite-hills as *Durga-chhata* or the Umbrella of Durga. This name signifies the importance of th termite hill as an iconic goddess Durga and the *Termitomyces* mushroom as her umbrella.[37]

The most common words for mushroom[38] in Maharashtra and Goa are Alambi (Marathi), Alami (Konkani) and in Karnataka 'Anabi'. These names are related to Ela or Yellamma, the termite-hill goddess. Elam-beej or the 'Seed of Elam' became corrupted as Elambij - Alambij - Alambi - Alami - Anabe (Kannada). Compared to any other species of wild edible mushrooms, discovery of mushrooms on termie hills is more ancient. So, the original names could have been derived only from *Termitomyces* spp. of mushrooms.

This hidden entomo-mycological dimension[39] of the cult of earth-mother goddess parallels several prominent cults of mushrooms in the world.[40] The closest, related to phallic or anthropomorphic cult is the Mexican or Aztec cult of Tenonanactal. This cult practised ritualistic consumption of hallucinogenic mushrooms. No such consumption occurs in India.[41]

The worship of Gajlaxmi is popular in Goa. R. C. Dhere has shown that this worship was originally related to the cult of earth-mother goddess.[42] In Goa, it could be a symbolic worship of

monsoonal showers. The elephant represents monsoonal clou
Through the Gajalaxmi worship a link between the sky and th
earth is established. The monsoonal rains invigorate the eart
The earth-goddess becomes "*Shakhambari*" or creator
vegetation. And from the termite-hills, the rains give rise
Durga-chhatas or *Alambeejas*. The best crop in Goa emerges
Nagpanchami. This crop is known as the "*Crop of Panchami*
Panchamechi Alami". Year after year this tradition is maintaine
The cult of Santeri also provides a means of subsistence to th
followers. The people who collect and market termite-hi
mushrooms are all followers of Santeri, Ravalnath, Khetoba an
similar folk-deities. The food-gathering, non-discriminative hab
has continued through the ages without imposition of a taboo.

Natha Sect and Termite-hill Worship

Kaulamata, the tantric ritual system of Natha sect has originate
from the termite-hill worship. From the studies of D
Mitterwalner[43] on the Pilar Cave site, it could be established tha
it was a principal site or a combined worship centre of Natha sec
and Saivites.

Termite-hill in Goan Folklore

There are no direct references in folk-art forms of Goa related t
the cult of termite-hill worship. The folk-deities of Dhangaras o
Goa, Khandoba and Mhasoba, are associated with the termit
hill worship cult.[44] In their talo folksongs[45] the Dhañgar folk
dancers and singers refer to the termite hill by its origina
mundari name *Roen* as in the following couplet:

> "*Katyo Roeni Jagani...*"

An analysis of dialogues of '*Perni Jagar*' could perhaps she
more light on the original form of the cult of termite-hill worship

There is a Dhangar legend in Goa associating five-hoode
serpent with the termite-hill.

Other Legends and Rituals related to Termite-hill

1. As per the Alampur legend, after decapitation by Parashurama, the head was destined to be worshipped as *Yellamma* and the torso as *earth-goddess*.46
2. Earth-goddess Renuka rejected Ratnagiri as residence and went back to Mahur.[47]
3. In Matangi initiation ceremony (*Diksha*), a termite hill is excavated. The virgin girl is seated in the pit and a basket covers her head. The girl goes in a trance. The medium 'springs' up from the excavated pit on the background of beat of drums and *bavanida* songs. After confirming the initiation the girl is presented with Matangi's (equivalent of Santeri) insignia.[48]
4. The Adishakti emerged from termite hill and grew up as a princess.[49]
5. Mahabharata and Brahmanda Purana do not mention Renuka-Termite hill association.[50]
6. Tondamana, a king, sees Renuka as termite hill.[51]
7. One Durgamma of Bellari (Karnataka) dreamt of a goddess inside an expanding termite hill. A temple was built in her honour. A snake used to come out from the hill every day during ancient time to consume a feast of eggs, milk etc.[52]
8. On Chaitra Shudda Nawami, the Renuka in termite-hill form is offered meat and hundred casks of liquor.[53]

Iconography and the Cult of Termite-hill Worship

The termite-hill, due to its complex elastic form, is not worshipped as a sculptural image. According to R C Dhere, the aniconic termite-hill evolved into the '*Lajjagauri*' or 'nude goddess' motif.

In Goa, the Curdi mother-goddess is the best local representation of the evolutionary form. This goddess carved in supine form in porous laterite dates back to 1000-600 BC or megalithic period.[54]

Another highly evolved form of *Lajjagauri*, carved in bas re was found by the author at Cudnem among many Chaluky images.

The unique lion-linga, from Narva Cave I, placed in the 4 5th century AD is considered as symbol of Durga.[55]

The '*Bhairava*' and '*Kali*' images found at Pilar depicting t 'Bhootnritya' is an interesting example of iconographic evolutior

Among the several *Mahishasurmardini* images of Goa, the reported from Guleli by V R Mitragotri, showing the seat goddess in a boat are most interesting.[57] These may symbol the popularity of the cult among the traders involved intracoastal trade, through merchant ships.

The iconographic evolution of Santeri shows the dynamics cultural amalgamation through external stylistic features.[58]

The Importance of Ecological Dimensions in Theogony

The emergence of the cults associated with the worship of term hill would not have been possible without the mound-buildi termites. The termites evolved, over 180 million years, ha occupied a specific ecological niche. Human interaction with this niche has givenrise to a galaxy of gods and goddesses over period of 5000 years. The best example is '*Shantadurga*' of G or '*Shantala*' of North Kanara which combine the folk beliefs a brahminic rituals.

Without termites and termite hills which are specific typical tropical soil and humid climate theogony of the goddesses and gods would not have been possible. Like Asia Min where termite hills are not found, a cult of mother goddess wi votive clay figurines[59] would have dominated this region.

The new trends in archaeology have been influenced by ecosystem view of the culture. This view considers huma populations as part of larger ecological systems and poses multip reciprocal exchanges between as cultural system ar environment. If offers unlimited possibilities for studying t processes involved in the evolution of ecosystems with the foc on human population.

Similarly, dealing with the evolution of political and religio

systems Flannery (1972) and Flannery & Marcus (1976) have mentioned that the entire culture could be profitably analysed from an ecological perspective.[60]

Perhaps, this effort is consistent with the new trends in archaeology, and many lead to a meaningful scientific explanation of several folk deities, cults, folk beliefs of Goa as also the culturally cohesive region of Santeri-Yellamma-Renuka.

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14. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
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16. *Ibid.*, p. 155
17. Rajgopal, Termites: The author has surveyed hundreds of termit hills in Goa. No proof has been found of snakes sheltering in th hills. This seemed to be a myth to keep away unwanted people.
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43. See ref. 33.
44. Dhere, Lajjagauri, p. 188.
45. See Ref. 24, page 52.
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54. Shirodkar, P.P. 'A rare find of mother goddess at Curdi' in Goa Society through the Ages' (seminar papers), Goa Universit publication series no. 2, B.S. Shastry (ed.) New Delhi, Asia Publication Services, 1987, pp. 9-15.
55. Anonymous, 'Goa: Birthplace of Hindu Cave Temples?' The Navhin Times, Panaji, Sunday, 22-7-1979. The crowning portion of the ling is cut into a sejant lion. It is about 15 inches in height. Carving sigularly simple, somewhat stylized. Absence of mane, presence a small round bell-band around neck and unusually thick moustach are its notable features.
56. See Ref. 33. The author has inspected the images mentioned, Pilar Seminary Museum.
57. Mitragotri, V.T. 'Mahishasurmardini in boat - a rare Guleli moti Purabhilekhuratatva, Vol., VI, No. 2, July-Dec. 88 pp. 69-78.
58. See Ref. 1.
59. See Ref. 10, Ref. 31 & Banerjee in Ref. 19.
60. See Ref. 2, p. 27-31.

Dr. Jose Camillo Lisboa

CAMILO D'SOUZA

Dr. Jose Camillo Lisboa was born in Assagao on the 5th March 1823. After completing his elementary education first at home under the guidance of his uncle priest, he went to the Parish Music School, and thence proceeded to Margao where he completed his Portuguese, Latin, Mathematics and History studies.

Margao was at that time the centre of political and intellectual gravity. It was pulsating with a new life and the young Jose Camilo, thanks to the wide influence of his uncle priest, who was the Vicar of that town, was thrown in the midst of new ideas and ambitions. He inhaled here the new oxygen which was producing in the country a veritable political revival. His mind was broadened, his ambitions were roused, and he felt within himself, as he repeatedly used to relate in his later life, a call for a higher and nobler life. In other words, he left Margao with the determination to be a man and came to Assagao to make his preparations to leave Goa and seek fresh fields and pastures new in Bombay. Meanwhile, his father had already arranged for him a small business in one of the minor cities of Gujarat and there Jose Camillo was to settle down. But the boy was adamant. He had set his heart on studies and unshaken in his resolution to pursua that object, he left Goa in a sailing ship and arrived in Bombay. He mastered the rudiments of the English language and topped the list of successful candidates for the Grant Medical College Entrance Examination. In that college, he soon made his mark both my his abilities and devotion for work; his professors, among whom there are at least two eminent doctors, appreciated his genius and soon after his examination he was appointed an

Assistant to the Professor of Anatomy and to the Europea
Surgeon of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Hospital. In his capacity
Dr. Lisboa performed several major operations with great success
Not satisfied with the scientific equipment which he had obtaine
in this city he proceeded to Europe and spent two years in a clos
study of Surgery and Medicine. On his return to India he gaine
a wide reputation for medical skill and built up a very larg
practice, chiefly among the Parsis. His dispensary was somethin
more than a dispensing hall; people crowded there in scores t
consult him, to seek his advice, to obtain solace for their physica
and moral sufferings.

Dr. Lisboa was not satisfied with his professional success
and amidst his many professional pre-occupations created, even
at a time when his practice gave him no time for his means, leisure
to pursue his research work in more lines than one. As President
of the Grant Medical College Society for 10 years and of the
Bombay Medical Association for 4 years, he read several important
and original papers on medical and allied subjects. As a Fellow of
the Linnean Society of London, his name occupies a distinguished
place in the annals of that Society. He was also a member of the
Geographical and Medical Society of Lisbon and of the Academic
International de Geographic Botanique of France which awarded
him a Gold Medal in recognition of his great sources to the cause
of Botanical Studies of India. He discovered many new plants,
several of which are named after him, like the Tripogen Lisboae,
Andrapagan Odotarus Lisboae, etc. These most important works
on Botany were his "Grasses of the Bombay Presidency", and his
"Medicinal Plants of the Bombay Presidency", a work written at
the request of the then Bombay government. His papers on
Bombay hae not lost their interest even to this day and are to be
found in the proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the
Bombay Natural History Society, both of which he was one of the
most active and able members.

Dr. Lisboa, during his second trip to Europe, made a special
study of the organisation of the medical studies in the more
advanced European centres, as in his capacity as a Syndicate of
the University of Bombay he made constant efforts to raise the
standard and to improve the methods and organisation of the
medical studies in the premier city of India.

Among his medical studies he devoted special attention to the problem of leprosy. Dr. V. Carter, in his book on Leprosy, considers Dr. Lisboa as the first Indian to devote to it systematic attention. Leprosy seems to have been a common disease in India from times immemorial as the history of its geographical distribution shows; but very little of that foul disease was known to the scientific world even in Europe beyond the reports of Dr. Danielson and Baack published in Norway. The period of its incubation, its specific deposit, its evolution, its etyology and treatment were problems which had seldom engaged the attention of even European scientists. Soon after his appointment to J.J. Hospital, Dr. Morehead requested Dr. Lisboa to devote special attention to the cases of Leprosy as they presented themselves in that hospital. The results of his investigations were embedded in a paper read before the Grant Medical College in 1852, and afterwards, together with the second paper on the same subject published in a book. The symptoms of Leprosy as described by Dr. Lisboa in a quaint and sometimes picturesque language resemble, in certain respects, Aristotle's unequivocal description of the same disease. He is a brief report of the paper as given in Appendix of the Annual Report of the Grant Medical College Sessions 1851-1852,

> " A paper was then read by Dr. Lisboa on Leprosy as observed in the Jamsetjee Jijeebhoy Hospital. A detailed account of the disease was given as its presents itself in the varieties - anaesthetic and tubercular - chiefly taken from observations made in the Jamsetjee Jijeebhoy Hospital. A distinction into acute and chronic was noticed in the description of the anaesthetic form, which does not seem to have been much dwelt upon by European writers on this disease. The paper illustrated by cases treated in Jamsetjee Jijeebhoy Hospital; and by preparations removed by Mr. Lisboa from patients who had died.

> " Dr. Coles and Dr. Morehead expressed their gratification they had felt at hearing Mr. Lisboa's interesting account of the disease, and after a few remarks from these gentlemen upon overall points noticed in the paper, the President said

he was sure only expressing the feelings of all the member present when he stated that it would continue to direct hi attention to the subject of Leprosy and at some future tim favour the Society with another paper."

Dr. Lisboa was a man of deep convictions and independen views. The Puritan conscience of England had been rightl shocked at the way the Government of India were exploiting national and international demand for opium. A loud cry was raised in England and the Opium Commission was appointed. It requested Dr. Lisboa to tender his evidence and complimented him onthe wonderful way he had prepared his evidence, opening before the Commission an entirely new field for enquiry and investigation.

We have dealt so far with the achievement of Dr. Jose Camilo Lisboa as a scientist. But his work as a patriot is not less important. In all his actions his noblest motive was the public good. Often his views on communal subjects were far advanced of his time, and consequently hisa advice did not meet with that respect and response which it otherwise so rightly deserved. Thus presiding over the meeting which had been convened to build a National Church for the Bombay Goans, Dr. Lisboa strongly urged his generation to content itself only with the task of securing an extensive plot area situated and leave the building of a cathedral worth of the community to the next generation. The advice was not heeded to, and we know with what disastrous consequences of a permanent character. He took a living interest in all the affairs of the community, in the management of the Instituto Luso-Indiano under whose auspices he spoke more than once. He defended the Padroado with all the strength of his soul and wrote those famous letters - Cartas aos Portugueses, which attracted wide public attention in Portugal. "Amo tanto o Padroado Como aninha alma imortal" is the saying attributed to him. He was also a great friend of the Konkani language, whose study he tried to spread in the community. His open letter to the editor of the Udentechem Salik is a strong appeal to the Goan public not to despise their mother language. He made in Goa repeated attempts to get published a volume on the medical use of local plants. In the Medical College, which, in a sense, was his

sanctuary, established a Gold Medal. In his native village of Assagao, he built a beautiful chapel which has been provided with ample funds and maintained a primary school which rendered great service for full two generations.

Dr. Lisboa started a Portuguese school in Socolvaddo, Assagao, in the name of his father. After serving the village society many years, the school was closed due to opening of a government school.

An English school was started in the name of Dr J C Lisboa by Assagao Union established in 1923, and it continued in his name till 1951 as per records available.

Dr. J.C. Lisboa donated Rs. 1,000/- to the then Lyceum School in Goa and from its interest a prize was being awarded to the student securing the highest marks in History subject. His wife, Mrs. Julia Lisboa left a prize in the form of a Gold Medal, in the name of her late husband, Dr. Lisboa, to be given to the Final Year Medical student securing the highest marks in Surgery. A sum of Rs. 6,000/- was deposited and the interest earned from the same was utilised for the Gold Medal every year.

Dr. J.C. Lisboa died on 1st May 1897 in Poona in the state of Maharashtra. A write-up on the death of Dr. Lisboa was published in The Times of India on 4th May, 1897.

Where Has My *Baa* Gone?

SHENOY GOEMBAB

ON the fifth day of the brighter half of *Magha* month, on th *Panchami* of the Goddess to be more precise, Babulo ha completed five and turned six. He was a naughty little tiny tot Headstrong and pranks-prone. Extremely obstinate at time "*Satkullied*" was the term to describe his naughty behaviour tha turned the house literally upside down with pranks and travail natural to a six year old. As the only male child, he had finall favoured the household with his birth after a long-long wait dul coupled with every kind of vow, worship and entreaty made b the yearning family of Shapushenoi.

When the news of his birth was first broken to Shenoi by th midwife with a demand for reward, it seems his joy knew n bounds. Almost beside himself with excitement, he is said to hav pulled off from his person the brand new, broad-bordered attir with its brocaded ashtadeg and thrown it at her with a jubilan "Take this as your reward!" Besides, he drew from his pocket thick is coconut-kernel, a heavy silver coin the size of a baby paln and thrust it into her hand. The fireworks he ordered to celebrat the event, the mounds of sugar distributed in the marketplac had to be seen to be believed! The boom and the bang of the *Satt* - the traditional sixth-night-after-birth celebration, was uniqu in its night-long revelry to the accompanying beat of *ghumots* *mhadelins* and *sumell*. And the seafood galore!

Shapshenoi and Umabai had almost become people of a nev world, in their ecstasy over the arrival of a much-awaitec grandson. When it came to their beloved Babulo, they could think of neither food nor drink. Their only preoccupation being the little one and his whims or requirements, for them it was only Babulo Babulo all along with no rest or respite. So much so, even i *Honibai* went to her mother's with Babulo, the twosome would not rest until the mother and the son were fetched back, at times with message after message.

Just as Babulo turned six, Honibai became fatally ill. The

diagnosis of the Vaidya said it was Vaydaman, gastro-suppression, and the poor lady eventually succumbed to the ailment. Oh! What a calamity it was for a child with well-developed sense to lose his mother so abruptly! When this bolt from the blue hit the lovingly brought-up Babulo, his plight became miserably pathetic. His naughtiness subsided. His pranks disappeared. His very vitality ebbed and with it his carefree travails and unpredictable outbursts. It was like his his childlike spontaneity vanishing in thin air. Like an old hag with mellow mind at the fag end of life, Babulo was overcome with grief and worry.

During his mother's delirious condition, when she began to blurt out incoherently, the grandparents began to guard Babulo from going into her room. Yet, giving them the slip, he would somehow slink into her room and call out to her, "Baa! Baa!" Finally, at the fateful midnight when she breathed her last, Babulo was fast asleep in his granny's room, free from all anxiety. Lifting the innocent child in her arms gently, Granny shifted him swiftly to another room, lest the noise and wailing should awaken him. Until late morning, when the body was removed and the last rites performed, Babulo had no inkling of what had occurred during the night.

Time and time again the old couple would be overcome with sorrow at the memory of their affectionate daughter-in-law - *Honibai*. Yet would control their grief and curb the overflowing eyes, determined that Babulo should be spared the tragic reality. Granny would continually ensure that he did not venture near his mother's room but the little one slipped away from her sight and pepped into the room. But... there was no *Baa*. No bed. Not evern her bedding. Nothing... but nothing... The room was like an empty mouth out to swallow him.

Beside himself, with fear and worry, he called out to his grandparents and querried, "Where has my *Baa* gone?" Unable to contain her overwhelming grief, Umabai drew him to heart and said, "Sweet my boy, last night your *Baa* went to God." Babulo could make no sense of her words. He simply said, "But I saw no *doli* come from God like the one Mama sends to take her. So what did she ride? And how come she went alone? Why did she leave me behind?" His innocent outbursts pierced the hearts of not only his grandparents but also of those around. The sorrow

so long suppressed by the household burst forth and the house was filled with loud wailing.

Babulo was taken aback. Seeing the others weep, he too began to cry. Granny held him to her breast and began to contain his weeping. "Don't you cry my angel. You are the very light of my house. May you live long, my pet and prosper like the banyan itself." Babulo was utterly confused. Time and again, he would venture into his mother's room. He began to wonder where she could have gone and what could have happened to her. Finally on the twelfth day during the *Baravo* rites, when the invited *Savashnn* was ritually given his mother's *kaapod, khunn*, copper tumbler, he could take it no more. He simply blew his top. Crying himself hoarse, he demanded of his grandmother, "*Ajjye*, when *Baa* returns from God's, won't she require her kapod to wear and her tambyo to drink water?" These words brought scalding tears to the eyes of all those present, including the lady invited as *Savashnn*.

All this seemed strange to Babulo. The moment he mentioned *Baa*, everybody would begin to cry. But whenever she had gone to his maternal grandparents' house along with him, he remembered none had ever shed so much as a tear. Now that she had gone to God, why was everyone overcome by this deluge of tears? His little mind could not figure it out...!

After the *Baravo*, Babulo waited long and hard for his *Baa*'s return. Were he to even catch so much as a glimpse of a doli, he would rush to find out whether it was his Baa, only to return dejected! At last, after three months of waiting, unable to holdout any longer, he suggested to his granny, "*Ajjye*, why don't you send a doli to fetch *Baa*? It's been ever so long..." Wiping away her tears with her *pallu*, Granny tried to divert him with "let that issue rest, little one. Go play *akho-makho* with Mannkoo."

Ever since his mother's death, Babulo had altogether given up playing. He was only preoccupied with his *Baa*. Even now he said, "*Ajjye*, I don't feel like playing. I am so very eager to see *Baa*." Distraught Umabai could only mutter in desperation. "Then, my little angel, I'll myself go with a *doli* and get her. I am sick of this life too." Babulo at once said innocently, "But if you go, who will be with me? Don't you go, please. Just send the *doli* with Raghlo and Sakhlo. They'll go and bring *Baa* back."

Umabai was at loss for words. She tried her best to distract the little boy's attention but to no avail. Finally, she mustered up courage and spoke in a strained voice, "Babulya, my little prince, people who go to God do not come back." At once Babulo shot back, "Then why did you let my *Baa* go there in the first place? Could you not have sent God's *doli* back? Had you told me this before, I'd have blocked the path and never let her out of the door. I would have clung to her legs..." At these words, Umabai began to sob like an inconsolable babe. Seeing this Babulo asked her, "*Ajjye*, of late whenever I speak of *Baa*, why do you keep on crying? Tell me plain and clear, will Baa never return? Will I have no *Baa* any more? What sort of work is it that has taken her to God for good?"

It was beyond Umabai to explain anything to him. She could only utter feebly through her tears. "My boy, leave all those stories behind. Let all that pass." At this Babulo began to insist obstinately, "No... never. Not I. I must have my *Baa*. I'll go to God's room just now and ask him why he has taken away my *Baa* and where he has kept her. He is the same God, isn't he, who's there in the devaaro in the pooja room?" Babulo rushed to the sanctum in the pooja room and emulating the elders, first slapped both his cheeks andthen lay prostrate before the idol. Meanwhile, his grandmother, who had silently followed him to see what he was upto, watched him stealthily from behind the door.

Babulo rose from the ground and with a threatening finger at the tip of his nose began to address God indignantly. "Lord God, it has been many days since you have called my *Baa* away. Why did you take her away from me and that even without letting me know? Could you find no one else? By evening you better return her to me. See that you keep her in the very room where she was sleeping, or else I'll show you what it's like tomorrow morning. I'll tell grandpa not to do any *pooja*. You just watch out. No wash, no bath, no flowers... not even a petal. Neither lamp nor wick. Not a slice of coconut kernel nor a bit of jaggery. Not even a grain of sugar. Absolutely nothing. I'll make you starve."

Seeing her grandson innocently quarreling with God, poor Umabai was oscillating between admiration and sorrow. Swallowing the lump at her throat, she silently stole away without letting him know she was there. Babulo spent the entire day in

feverish anticipation. Sure that after such a dressing down Go would have no option but to return his *Baa*, he was consume with excitement and euphoria. Soon it was night. Babulo slep soundly. Next day he woke up early at dawn and bolted to *Baa'* room, sure to find her there. To his chagrin he met a vacan room. Throughly disappointed, he was overcome with rage. Goin straight to his grandmother, he asked her, "*Ajjye*, what sort o God is this? I had threatened him so much, but he just doesn seem to bother. Had he even a trace of shame he would hav returned my *Baa*. What shall I do now? This God doesn't listen to me. But I must have *Baa*. I want my *Baa*... at any cost..."

So saying the little lad began to wail loudly, "*Baa*, oh my *Baa*! *Baa*..." Granny drew him to her bosom and tried to consol him. "Don't! My dearest, don't you cry. People never come back from God, my beloved child." Babulo burst out in rage. "Then couldn't God tell me to my face yesterday that 'you will not ge your *Baa* back?' Why did he keep mum?" Granny tried telling him, "God does not speak to human beings, sweetheart." Babul promptly shot back, "If he does not speak to people, what work can he get done with her? Doesn't he speak to my *Baa* too?" Poor granny was at a dead end.

At last Babulo declared with finality, "God may or may no speak, but I must have my Baa. God cannot keep her forever. I she cannot come to me, I'll go to her myself."

Thus, Babulo began to call out to his mother incessantly. He refused to eat or drink and lost the very will to live. He grew thin and emanciated. Soon he was bedridden. Finally, with only the words "*Baa*! My *Baa*!" on his lips, he left for his heavenly abode.

Who will not be overwhelmed by this tale? Whose eyes will not overflow with Babulo's grief? "If she cannot come to me, I will go to her." What resolve! Babulo finally fulfilled his resolution. Just like the injunction in the *shloka* of the *Bhagvadgita*, where the Lord tells Arjuna, "those who are engrossed in the very thought of that, finally leave their body behind, to be united in that." There is no doubt that, on a like basis, Babulo must have gone to his beloved *Baa* and sat once again in her lap in undiluted joy!

Translated from the Konkani original
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The historical wealth of Goa remains only partly explored. The culture of the contemporary Goan community, regardless of religious identities, draws much of its richness from the traditions of the past. What happened during the period Goa was under the Portuguese added a new facet to the rich culture.